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THE

JACOBITE TRIALS

AT MANCHESTER IN

1694.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are epidemics in the moral as well as in the physical world. Society, at certain stages, seems to yield to a sort of possession which sways it to and fro beyond the bounds, and even against the dictates, of right reason. Whilst the fit lasts, it rages with all the virulence of active disease; and when it subsides, sense and reason resume their reign only to be dispossessed by a new recurrence of the moral disorder. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, England had scarcely recovered from one of these attacks before another succeeded. Our history during that interval is a continual record of real or pretended conspiracies. No term can be found more fit to characterize the period than the age of *plots*. Whoever looks, however casually, into our annals from 1660 to the close of the century, will not fail to see how infectious the credulity of the public mind became on the subject of the prevailing plot — how it was swayed on all sides like a ship in a gale, and during the same period how little share sense and reason appeared to have in its guidance. The ferment into which men were thrown by the extraordinary events of the late reign; the

king's death; the subsequent usurpation, and the unwonted activity of mind prevailing on all subjects, moral, religious, and political, to which we are indebted for much of our present liberty; the subsequent restoration of monarchy, and the complexion which it took from recent events and the character of the reigning king, — were circumstances not unlikely to give rise to those numerous plots which, after having distinguished and disgraced the reign of Charles II., almost, by a natural consequence, cast their spawn upon the reigns of his two successors. The inventor of a plot, if he were only bold enough, found his trade a gainful one. Witness the plots distinguished by the names of Oates's, the Meal Tub, and the Rye-house plots, with many others of a public nature, which were caught at and believed with the greatest eagerness by the nation! Witness, also, the annals of our courts, which are filled with records of similar transactions of a private nature!

The Lancashire plot, out of which arose the trials now published, was amongst the last but not the least important of the plots of King William's reign. The plot is stated with great care and much minuteness of detail by Richard Kingston, the court scribe, in his "True History of the several designs and conspiracies against his majesty's person and government, as they were carried on from 1688 till 1697;" in which he professes "that neither the desire of expressing his gratitude to the best of kings and the most regular establishment in the world, the hopes of future reward, nor the advantage of revenging former piques, should influence him to deviate from truth, the life and

soul of history;" and he adds, that "to convince the world that this is not precariously asserted, I have, after the example of the most considerable historians, cited my authorities in the margin."(1)

According to Mr. Kingston, the Lancashire plot had the honour not only to be the parent but the companion of all the other conspiracies, and its contrivance was owing to the politics of King James II., who, flattering himself with hopes of regaining the crown which he had lost by his misconduct, concerted with his friends before his departure for France, that they should endeavour to raise a ferment in these kingdoms, and that some trusty person should be commissioned on that errand and for that object.

Mr. Bromfield, a pretended quaker, was the person fixed on, and he advanced towards Scotland, sowing as he went the seeds of discontent through the northern parts of England. From Scotland, when he had laid the foundations of a civil war there, he passed over into Ireland, and having satisfied himself that the zeal of the party in that country needed no further inflaming, he returned into Lancashire,

(1) The "True History of the late conspiracy against the King and the nation, with a particular account of the Lancashire Plot, and all the other attempts and machinations of the disaffected party since his majesty's accession to the throne, (extracted out of the original informations of the witnesses and other authentic papers,)" printed in 1696, traces the conspiracy step by step, and arrives at the same conclusions as Mr. Kingston. This latter work was the production of Dr. Abbadie, a friend of King William, whom he advanced to be dean of Killaloe. The work was originally written in French, and afterwards translated into English. See Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, art. Abbadie.

intending to make that neighbourhood the sphere of his operations.

He proceeded, in the first instance, to Croxteth, the seat of Lord Molyneux;(1) but to avoid observation, he afterwards removed to an inn at Redland, (Rhudllan,) kept by Mr. George Wilson, which soon became the resort of great numbers of the party.

From this place he made occasional visits to Ireland, as a means of keeping up a safer communication with the exiled king and his friends in Lancashire and the neighbourhood. But suspicion having fallen upon him, the vessel in which he had made his voyages to Ireland was seized on the part of the government, while he escaped, with difficulty, by means of his former host George Wilson, into Ireland, where King James made him a commissioner of the Irish mint.

The Lancashire plot, to involve the nation in blood and ruin by means of an insurrection and an invasion, was accompanied by a design to murder the king. Colonel Parker, who was engaged in the intended insurrection and rebellion in Lancashire, was, according to Mr. De la Rue, implicated in the still deeper design of the murder, and was the person who, in 1689, originally propounded it to Lord Melford. Mr. Bromfield having arranged the invasion plot when he was in Lancashire, now sought and soon found

(1) Caryl Lord Molyneux had replaced William Earl of Derby as Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire in 1687, but at the Revolution he was himself displaced to make way for Lord Gerard of Brandon, son of the Earl of Macclesfield.—*Norris Papers*, p. 24.

means to forward it. Mr. Lunt, who had followed the king to France soon after his abdication, and who was sent thence with the rest of the guards to Ireland, in May 1689, renewed his acquaintance with Bromfield, then newly arrived from Lancashire, bringing a report that Lancashire and the neighbourhood only waited for the king's commissions to rise in his behalf and restore him to the throne. Mr. Lunt having enquired and ascertained from Mr. Bromfield the correctness of this report, undertook at the latter's earnest persuasion to be the bearer of the commissions to the Lancashire gentlemen, and was thereupon recommended to the ex-king for that service by his ministers, the Lords Thomas and Geo. Howard, and the Lord Melford.(1) Meanwhile the disaffected in Lancashire, impatient to receive the commissions, and not knowing the preparations which were made in Ireland for sending them over, dispatched Mr. Edmund Threlfall of the Ashes in Goosnargh to fetch them. Mr. Threlfall and two other persons belonging to the conspiracy, having Lord Derby's pass, embarked in the beginning of May 1689, on board "a pink," called the Lion of Lancaster, Charles Cawson master, and sailed from the roads of Lune by night without any lading, or any cocket, or custom house certificate. The vessel had been used for fetching cattle for the Earl of Derby from the Isle of Man, and the sailors believed that this was their destination on the present voyage; but on the voyage, Mr. Threlfall proposed and the master agreed to sail to Ireland, and they accordingly

(1) Thomas Lord Howard and John Lord Milfort were expressly excepted from the act of indemnity passed in 1690.

directed their course for and arrived in Dublin. Threlfall and Lunt now became acquainted. They received the commissions and were furnished with passes under the hand of Lord Melford. At the end of three weeks they embarked on board the pink, the former carrying with him a hair portmanteau, a sword, a pair of pistols, and the latter only a pair of saddle-bags, a sword, and pistols. The pink, with no lading but a ton and a half of iron pots, half a ton of iron bars, and nine barrels of beef, set sail on her return voyage, and anchored in the Lune near to Cockerham, a little before sunrise on Thursday the 13th June, 1689. The vessel had no sooner anchored but the two passengers,(1) at their own request, were put ashore before the arrival of the custom house officers, whose practice it was to board every vessel as she entered the harbour, and Mr. Lunt left behind him his saddle-bags, containing some of the commissions, declarations, blanks, and other papers. Becoming sensible of his loss as he was stepping on shore from the ship's boat, he desired the sailors to bring him the saddle-bags to Cockerham where he intended to refresh himself; but before the sailors returned to the ship the officers came on board, and found the saddle-bags with the papers. Discovering these to be dangerous, they made hot pursuit after the owners, but not finding either Mr. Lunt or his fellow passenger, they delivered the papers into the hands of the proper authorities.(2)

(1) Dr. Abbadie's *True Hist.* p. 30, makes a third person, Gordon, a Scotch Conspirator, arrive with them; but Gordon, although appointed at the same time for Scotland, did not sail with Mr. Threlfall and Mr. Lunt.

(2) There is no deposition of Charles Cawson, but the depositions of the

This discovery, having caused some noise in Lancashire, was

five seamen, and of John Cawson, the owner of the pink, are here given verbatim, from Mr. Kingston's work, p. 209 : —

The Information of John Preston of Cockeram Mariner, who upon Oath saith ;

That about a year ago John Cawson Part-owner of the Pink or Vessel called the Lion of Lancaster, hired this Informant as a Mariner to serve in the said Vessel; the Burden whereof is 'twixt 40 and 50 Tun, and he hath ever since served in that Employment, and the said Vessel in that time hath performed four Voyages to Dublin in Ireland, one of which Voyages was about Christmas last, and since Christmas last, to wit, about a Month ago she loosed out of Loyne or Lune River for the Isle of Man, having then on Board only three Passengers, viz. Mr. Edmund Thrillfall, and two Strangers, who this Informant never saw before or since, which said Thrillfall, when he was on Board shewed Charles Cawson, Master of the said Vessel, the Earl of Derby's Pass for the said Voyage. And this Informant and others of the said Mariners made for the said Island, but before they could compass it, the said Owner proposed to this Informant, and the rest of the Mariners to make for Ireland, which they did accordingly, and landed in Ireland, and there continued about three Weeks, during all which time the said Master continued a Shore, and returned not Aboard till she was ready to sail. And this Informant further saith, That the said Vessel went out of Loyne in the night-time without any Cocket or Certificate from the Custom-Office, and without Fraught, or any on Board, save the three Passengers aforesaid, and the said Master and five Mariners, and a Boy. And at her Return had nothing Aboard save a Tun and a half of Iron-pots, and half a Tun of Iron Barrs, and nine Barrels of Beef, and two Passengers, viz. the said Mr. Thrillfall, and a young short Man wearing his own hair; which said Passengers had two Cases of Pistols, and one Sword, and the said Thrillfall had a Hair Port-mantle Trunk, which he took on Shoar with him. And he further saith, That on Thursday morning last, the said Vessel came to Anchor in Loyne aforesaid, a little before Sun-rise, and by the Cock-boat belonging to the said Vessel sent the said Thrillfall and the other Passenger ashore at the Crook, being on the South-side of the said River, before the Custom-house Boat came up to them. And the said Passengers, or the one of them left

examined into at Manchester by the Earl of Devonshire, the

behind them in the said Vessel two Leather Baggs with Writings, which the Custom-Officers, when they came on Board, took into their possession. And further saith not,

John Preston.

Jurat apud Preston in Com. Lanc' xvii° Junii 1689. Coram me,

C. Brandon. [Charles Lord Gerard of Brandon.]

The Information of Henry Knowles, one of the Seamen in the Pink or Vessel call'd the Lion of Lancaster: Who upon Oath saith;

That he is a Papist, and hath been a Mariner or Seaman in the said Vessel, in several Voyages betwixt England and Ireland, and more particularly in two Voyages since Christmas last. And he further saith, that this day five Weeks last past about two a Clock in the Morning, the said Vessel weighed Anchor from the River Lune, being designed, (as this Examinant and the other Mariners on Board understood for the Isle of Man,) without any Fraught or Persons on Board her, saving Mr. Thrillfall and two other Passengers, who this Examinant knows not, besides Charles Cawson the Master, five Mariners, whereof this Examinant was one, and a Boy. But in the Voyage, and before they did reach to the said Isle, Mr. Thrillfall proposed, that they should go strait for Dublin in the Kingdom of Ireland, where the said Mr. Thrillfall pretended he had business; to this the Master readily consented, saying, he also had business at Dublin to get in some Debts; which Voyage they performed accordingly, and Landed at Dublin the Saturday following, and there continued at Anchor some days above three Weeks, during which stay this Examinant several times saw the said Mr. Thrillfall in Dublin: And in order for their Return to England, there was brought on Board the said Vessel at Dublin, only one Tun and a half of Iron pots, half a Tun of Iron Barrs, and nine Barrels of Beef; and upon Monday was seven night the said Vessel set sail from Dublin for England, no Persons being in her besides the said Ship's-Company, the said Mr. Thrillfall, and one other Person (to this Examinant unknown) who brought with them into the Vessel only a Trunk-Portmantle covered with Hair, that

Earl of Macclesfield, the Earl of Scarborough, and the Lord

this Examinant knows of. And this Deponent saith, that the said other Person was low of stature, wearing his own Hair, and went under the Name of Mr. Lunt, who pretended to come to an Uncle of his in England. And this Examinant further saith, That the said Vessel about two or three a Clock last Thursday Morning came to an Anchor in the River Lune in that Country. And the Master, immediately after their coming to Anchor, Ordered the Cock-boat to be let down, and appointed this Examinant and Richard Whiteside, another of the said Seamen, to set the said Mr. Thrillfall and Mr. Lunt on shore upon Cockerham side, which accordingly they did, and carried with them (which they delivered to the said Thrillfall) the said Trunk; and as this Examinant, and the said Whiteside were rowing the Boat back towards the Vessel, the said Lunt called back of them, that he had left his Baggs on Board, but said, that he and the said Mr. Thrillfall would go to refresh themselves at Cockerham, and desired this Examinant to bring his said Baggs thither to him. But before this Examinant was return'd to the Vessel, a Boat with some Officers belonging to the Custom-house were come up to the Vessel, who searching the Vessel did after this Examinant's Return to her, find in the Hold of the said Vessel, two Leather-baggs, with several written and Printed Papers in them, as this Examinant afterwards saw, which this Examinant believes to be the said Lunt's Baggs. And this Deponent further saith, that he believes the said Vessel had no Cocket, when she went for Ireland. And hath heard, that the said Mr. Thrillfall gave ten Pounds for her that Voyage.

Capt' & Jurat' apud Preston in Com' Lancast' 18 Junii 1689, coram me.
T. Patten.

Henry Knowles.

The Information of James Tomson, one of the Mariners belonging to the Pink or Vessel called the Lion of Lancaster: Who upon Oath saith,

That he is a Protestant, but being Examined about several Voyages lately made by the said Vessel into Ireland, as to the last, saith, that it was

Wharton, who were all at this time in Lancashire on the

begun about five Weeks since, and having heard the Information of Henry Knowles, this Examinant agrees with the same in the relation thereof.

Capt' & Jurat' die & loco præd' coram me,
T. Patten.

James Tomson.

The Information of John Barrow one of the Mariners belonging to the Vessel called the Lion of Lancaster: Who upon Oath saith;

That he is an Apprentice to Mr. John Cawson, and by his Order went on Board the said Vessel, which about five Weeks ago sayl'd into Ireland, and he hearing the Information of Henry Knowles now taken and read over, this Examinant agrees with the said Knowles in the relation thereof, except that this Examinant heard not what the said Lunt came over for, nor the Discourses betwixt Mr. Thrillfall and Lunt, and the Seamen when they set them on shore at Cockerham.

Capt' & Jurat' die & loco præd' coram me,
John Patten.

John Barrow.

The Information of Richard Whiteside, one of the Mariners belonging to the Vessel called the Lion of Lancaster: Who upon Oath saith;

That having heard the Information of Henry Knowles, another of the Mariners, read over, this Examinant agrees with him in every particular thereof, relating to the said Vessel's last Voyage into Ireland, except that this Examinant hath not heard what Mr. Thrillfall was to give for the Hire of the said Vessel.

Capt' & Jurat' die & loco sup' dict' coram me,
T. Patten.

R. Whiteside.

business of the army, and by their joint recommendation a

The Examination of John Cawson of Narbock within Cockerham in the County of Lancaster, Merchant: Who saith,

That he is half Owner of the Vessel, called the Lion of Lancaster, and the other half belongs to this Examinant's Son Charles Cawson, and to his Son-in-Law Robert Curwen, to wit, to either of them one Quarter. And that having for several years last past, about May or June been employ'd to carry the Earl of Derby's Cattle from the Isle of Man to England, he this Examinant did about two or three Months ago desire Mr. William Backhouse the Attorney, who design'd shortly afterwards to go with Mr. Thomas Simpson to London to put the said Mr. Simpson in mind of knowing from the said Earl, when he designed the said Cattle should be fetched over, which Mr. Backhouse promised to do. And at Mr. Simpson's Return he informed this Deponent, that he this Examinant might send for the Cattle as formerly to Mr. Cockett my Lord's Servant in the said Isle. And thereupon this Examinant gave consent to his said Son Charles, that if he pleas'd he might fetch over the same in the Vessel aforesaid. And about five Weeks ago the said Vessel loosed Anchor, and went out of Lune Water, designing only as this Examinant then believed, for the Isle of Man, upon the Account aforesaid. And this Examinant further saith, that since the return of the Vessel, this Examinant has been for about an hour's time with his said Son to enquire about his Voyage, who inform'd him, that in the Voyage Mr. Edmund Thrillfall, who was then a Passenger on Board the Vessel, offer'd to him the said Charles Cawson ten Pounds to put him the said Mr. Thrillfall a shore in any part of Ireland, and that accordingly, he had set Mr. Thrillfall a shore at Dublin, and that after some stay there, he returned back for England, bringing the said Mr. Thrillfall and another Person (who his Son called Mr. Lunt) hither with him. And the said Charles informed this Examinant, that he was detain'd and could not be admitted to return from Dublin till he brought the said Lunt and Thrillfall with him. And this Examinant saith, that upon Ascension-day last, the said Mr. Thrillfall came unto him at Garstang, and treated with him about a Passage into the Isle of Man, but an Embargo being then upon Vessels, this Examinant told the said Thrillfall, his said Vessel could not go. And upon the Monday before the Vessel went from Lancaster-water, the said Mr. Thrillfall came to this Examinant's House to treat with him

warrant to apprehend Threlfall and Lunt was issued by the Earl of Macclesfield, as Lord Lieutenant of the county.(1)

Threlfall and Lunt, having escaped the officers of the customs, repaired first to Mr. Tildesley's, of the Lodge, in Myerscough, where they divided the commissions, and Mr. Threlfall having refreshed himself, and being furnished with a guide, set out to deliver those for Yorkshire and Durham, while Mr. Lunt, with another guide, took charge of the commissions for the gentlemen of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire.

When Mr. Lunt had delivered his portion of the commissions, he was dispatched to London to buy arms and enlist men, and send them into Lancashire to be subsisted by King James's friends till there should be occasion to employ them.

again for a Passage to the Island, but this Examinant denied him one in the Vessel, having resolved to take no Passenger thither; and thereupon the said Thrillfall went away from this Deponent, and since then this Examinant never saw the said Mr. Thrillfall. And this Examinant demanding from his Son, why he called not at the Isle for my Lord's Cattle in his return from Dublin, his said Son told him the said Thrillfall and Lunt (who were too strong for him, being armed with Pistols) would not let him, and that withal they promis'd him other ten Pounds for their Passage from Ireland, but never yet paid it him.

Capt' die & loco præd' coram me, T. Patten. — John Cawson.

(1) Charles Lord Gerard of Brandon (son to the Earl of Macclesfield) was made Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, and Governor of Liverpool Castle in 1688, and retained both offices until his death in 1701. At the time of these trials he had succeeded to the title of Earl of Macclesfield. He was the husband of the lady so well known as the mother of Richard Savage the poet.

The number of Irish soldiers who now appeared in the county gave rise to a letter to the secretary of state, from the magistrates assembled at the adjourned quarter sessions of the peace at Manchester, on the 18th October, 1689, in which they state that many of the younger Roman Catholic gentry (some of them of good quality) had secreted themselves in the county; that information had reached the writers that there had been a modelling of men and officers, as if in the hope of an insurrection; that to some of the absent gentlemen there had been sent boxes with scarlet clokes, pistols, and swords, from London; that there had been war saddles conveyed to disaffected persons five or six months before; that the gaols were full of Irish Roman Catholics; and that there were many at popish houses; and, which they say is the more immediate cause of the letter, that only two days before six new war saddles were sent for in the night by Mrs. Culcheth,(1) a popish gentlewoman, five of whose brothers had absconded, respecting whom the writers say they had five persons all of them papists then in prison.

In August 1689, as Lunt in company with Mr. Abbot,

(1) I am indebted to Mr. Canon Raines for the suggestion that this lady was probably Mary the daughter of Hugh Dicconson, Esq., of Wrightington, who was married to Thomas Culcheth. If so, William Dicconson, one of the prisoners tried at Manchester, Roger Dicconson the witness, and that Edward Dicconson "episcopus Mallensis," buried at Standish in 1752, aged 82, were probably three of the five suspected brothers. If Mr. Baines is correct, William Dicconson, the prisoner, again fell under the suspicion of the government and forfeited his estate in 1707. (*History of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 517.)

the steward of Lord Molyneux, was returning northwards after his mission to London, he and his fellow traveller were seized at Coventry, and thrown into prison as enemies to the government. They were still in confinement there when Charles Cawson, the master of the pink which had brought Mr. Lunt and Mr. Threlfall from Ireland, arrived at that place on his way to London, a prisoner in custody for that offence. Being told at Coventry as a piece of news that two of his countrymen were then in that gaol as enemies to the government, he was taken, at his own request, by the king's messenger who had charge of him to the prison, where he immediately recognized Mr. Lunt as one of the persons whom he had brought from Ireland the previous June, and who had left those papers in the ship for which he Cawson was then in trouble. Cawson being taken from Coventry to London, and being there examined by the privy council, gave evidence of his taking Mr. Threlfall to Ireland, of his bringing him and Mr. Lunt back, of their landing at Cockerham, of their leaving the papers in the ship, of Mr. Threlfall's being killed, and of Mr. Lunt's being confined in Coventry gaol. Having been bound over to give evidence against Mr. Lunt, Mr. Cawson was then set at liberty, and Mr. Lunt and Mr. Abbot, after being brought from Coventry to London, and examined by the privy council, were committed to Newgate for treasonable practices in November 1689.

In the same month, according to Mr. Kingston, (but on the 27th February following according to the date appended to his deposition,) Mr. Kelly deposed before the mayor of

Evesham, in Worcestershire, and five of his brother magistrates, that there was a design on foot to raise a rebellion against the government in Lancashire; that divers persons there, and in the adjoining counties, had received commissions from King James to raise two regiments of horse, two regiments of dragoons, and three regiments of foot; that great numbers of Irish soldiers and their arms were privately kept in different parts of the county, and in particular that Mr. Thomas Tatlock, of Simonswood near Sefton, harboured about sixty men for the ex-king's service, and that their arms were hid in that wood; that Mr. Molyneux of Morbrow, harboured about twenty Irish soldiers for the same purpose; that arms, saddles, bridles, holsters, and other necessaries, were hid under a tower at the entry of the house of Mr. Blundell of Ince; that John Holland of Prescot, and his partner, made saddles and holsters for them, and were privy to their design; that he, Kelly, saw a letter from the late queen in the hands of Lord Molyneux's son, and heard it read, encouraging the intended insurrection in Lancashire, and giving assurance from the French king of assistance in men and arms.(1)

(1) The information which Kelly gave is here given verbatim from Mr. Kingston's book, p. 302:—

The Examination of John Kelly taken upon Oath the 23 *and* 27 *days of February.*

This Informant saith, that he came over to England in the Irish Army about Michaelmas last was twelve Months, since which time he hath wander'd up and down from one Gentleman's House to another, and was entertain'd in the Lord Molyneux's House about twelve Days before Christmas,

This information caused many of the Lancashire Roman Catholics to be imprisoned, while others, aware that Mr. Dodsworth had also discovered the conspiracy, and that two

during which time he was there, he saw a Letter from Queen Mary which came from St. Germains, directed to the young Lord Molyneux, which Letter this Informant heard read, the Contents of which Letter was that with good Hopes of the Encouragement they had from other Countries, and that the Queen had got from the French King a Grant of assisting them with Arms, to the Number of eight or nine Thousand as near as he remembereth; and my Lord Molyneux on receipt of this Letter, sent to several Saddlers to prepare Saddles, Bridles, and Holsters, and as fast as they were made, this Informant saith, they were convey'd to secret Places under Ground: And farther this Informant saith, That he was at the House of one Esq; Tildesley at a Place called the Lodge, in Lancashire near to a Town call'd Preston, where he saw many Commissions which came from King James out of Ireland, which said Commissions were to raise two Regiments of Horse and three of Foot, which Regiments were to be at an hour's warning when King James sent any Assistance out of Ireland into England, or when King William should go into Scotland, one of which Regiments of Horse was to be Commanded by the young Lord Molyneux, another Regiment of Horse was to be Commanded by Esq; Townley of Townley in Lancashire aforesaid, one other Regiment of Foot, was to be Commanded by Mr. Standish of Standish Hall in Lancashire aforesaid, and the other Regiment of Foot was to be Commanded by Sir James Pool of Pool Hall within six Miles of West-Chester: And this Informant farther saith, that Mr. Standish sent one Lieut. Burke from his House with Letters to King James into Ireland, who gave the said Lieut. Burke forty Guineas, which this Informant saw deliver'd to the said Lieut. Burke, which said Letters were sent immediately after the Receipt of the said Commissions from Ireland. And farther this Informant says, he was sent by the Lord Molyneux with a Letter to my Lord l**t of l**t–Hall aforesaid, and also he was sent with several other Letters from Place to Place to several other Gentlemen, the Contents of which Letters this Informant believes, was to be in a Readiness for the rising aforesaid, and they were to repair to the Castle of Liverpool, which they did conceive might easily be surpriz'd, where were many Barrels

witnesses might be had to prove their treason, absconded from their homes, and continued in concealment until Kelly had mysteriously disappeared.

of Gun Powder and Arms, that so thereby they might be furnish'd with Ammunition and Arms; and further this Informant saith, that he was sent now and then a Foot, and then a Horse-back from one Gentleman to another, who were Confederates, and was kindly receiv'd by all with Plenty of Provisions and Money; and further this Informant says, he knew several other Persons sent upon the same occasion; and further this Informant says, that he himself does know Irish Souldiers to the Number of five Hundred, now lying in Lancashire, which lye to be ready at an hour's warning, if there should be any Insurrection to assist King James. And this Informant saith, Mr. Thomas Tatlock of Symons-Wood, near the Parish of Sefton in Lancashire, did for near a Month together, harbour about three Score Irish Men, who had serv'd King James, and were then listed under other Gentlemen to serve King James again, and that Arms and Furniture for them were hid in that Wood.

He further saith, that Mr. Molyneux of Morbrow, did harbour about twenty Irish Men for the Service of King James, and that Arms, Saddles, Bridles and Holsters for them were conceal'd in a Cellar under a Tower at the Entry of the House of Mr. Blundell of Inch in the Parish of Sefton. That John Holland of Prescot and his Partner made Saddles, Bridles and Holsters for them, and was privy to the Design, and that a Saddler in Leigh was imploy'd by the Popish Gentlemen for that Service. That all the Officers and Soldiers were to be ready at the Time they should have Notice from King James from Ireland. That Arms, Saddles, Bridles, Holsters, &c. were also hid in Cellars and under Ground, in the Parish of Prescot and Parish of Leigh and other Parishes, by Gentlemen and the Sadlers that live there.

Taken and Sworn this 27. Febr. before us whose Names are here under Written. J. Kelly.

Thomas Yarnold Mayor of Evesham, Bellemont, James Rushout, William Bromley, Edmund Letchmore, Richard Dodswell.

On the 16th May, 1690, Mr. Robert Dodsworth deposed upon oath before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, that certain Roman Catholic gentlemen, and others in Lancashire and the neighbourhood, of whom he gave a list, had entered into a treasonable conspiracy to make war against the government, with a design to restore King James; that in order to it they had received commissions from King James, brought over by Mr. Threlfall, to raise some regiments of horse and dragoons; that the confederates had bought arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, and hid them in divers places; that the troops were to be joined by the late king's forces from Ireland, while the French were to land in Cornwall, and the Duke of Berwick to cause a diversion in Scotland; that all was to be kept still and close until the late king should actually land in Lancashire, which he had promised to do in a month or two at the farthest.(1) The house of

(1) Mr. Dodsworth's deposition is here printed from the copy given by Mr. Kingston, p. 271 :—

The Information of Robert Dodsworth of Crosby Ravensworth in the County of Westmoreland Gentleman.

This Informant upon his Oath saith, that about August last, he went to Mr. Tho. Carus of West-Hall in the County of Lancaster, and the said Mr. Carus told this Informant, that he could do him a kindness, and get him a Commission from his Cousin Tildesley meaning Col. Thomas Tildesley of the Lodge in the said County of Lancaster, Esq; who had a Commission from the late King James to be a Colonel of Dragoons: And this Informant deposeth, that about a Month after came Edward Tildesley to Mr. Girlingtons at Thurland Castle in the said County of Lancaster, where Mr. Henry Butler and Mr. Thomas Carus desir'd him to speak to the said Thomas Tildesley the next time he saw him for a Commission for this Informant, and a little time after the said Thomas Tildesley and one Thrillfall, who

commons, appreciating the value of this information, recommended Mr. Dodsworth to the government for a reward, upon which the king presented him with a sum of money,

went by the Name of Capt. Brown, came over to Thurland Castle, where this Informant did speak to the said Thomas Tildesley for a Commission, and the said Tildesley told this Deponent, that care should be taken that this Informant should have a Commission, and one Thomas Ducket told this Informant, that the said Thrillfall, alias Brown, had brought Commissions from the late King James. And it was reported amongst them, that the said King James would Land in a Month's Time; and some short time after the said Tho. Tildesley came again to Thurland Castle, and there this Informant ask'd him for a Captain's Commission, and the said Tildesley said, they were all disposed of, but told this Informant, he would put him into a Post. At the same time Mr. George Carus of Halton in the said County of Lancaster, came to this Informant and said, that he had been order'd a Month before to ask this Informant, if he would accept a Lieutenant's Place of Horse; to which this Informant gave his consent, and therewith acquainted the said Thomas Tildesley, who told this Informant, that if he would bring a Troop of Dragoons, he should have an Independent Troop; for his Regiments being full, he could give out no more Commissions for Captains without Order from his Master, meaning the late King James, and most of the Discourse between this Informant and the said Thomas Tildesley, George Carus of Halton, Henry Butler, Thomas Ducket, Thomas Carus and John Girlington was hoping for the speedy Return of the said King James: And this Informant further deposeth, that some time after, which was in Christmas last, this Informant went to Manchester, and carry'd a Letter from George Carus to Christopher Carus his Father, who read the same, and ask'd this Informant if he the said Christopher was a Captain, whether he would go under him, to which this Informant answer'd with all his Heart, then the said Christopher Carus said, he had a Commission under Coll. Molyneux, and had Power to choose his own Lieutenant and Cornet, only the Coll. desired to put in the Quarter-Master: And then the said Mr. Christopher Carus told this Informant, that he should be his Lieutenant, and desir'd him to keep it private. This Informant further deposeth, that at Christmas last at his return from Manchester, he came to Mr. Standish at Standish in the said County of Lancaster,

and had he not been a Roman Catholic, and so disqualified, he would have found him some office in the treasury.

On the 17th March, 1690, Mr. Edward Robinson deposed before Richard Wright, Esq., a Lancashire magistrate, that

who ask'd this Informant, if he was nam'd for a Commission, and the Informant told him, that he was a Lieutenant under Capt. Christopher Carus, and after Supper the said Mr. Standish went with this Informant into his Chamber, and having call'd for some Drink, he drank the Healths of Coll. Molyneux and Coll. Townley and Lieutenant Coll. Gerrard (Sir William Gerrard's Son), then Mr. Thomas Ducket a Relation of the said Mr. Standish drank a Health to the Lieutenant Collonel to Mr. Townley, this Informant ask'd who that was, the said Mr. Ducket reply'd, there he is pointing to the said Mr. Standish, which said Mr. Standish reply'd yes for want of a better, or to that Purpose, and further said, he thought he might have been Lieutenant Collonel to Mr. William Molyneux, because their Acquaintance had been so great, but since he was not, he was satisfied with that Post under Coll. Townley. This Informant further deposeth, that the next day the said Lieutenant Collonel Standish, Mr. Thomas Ducket, one Dr. Worton and this Informant din'd together at Standish-Hall, and the said Mr. Standish bid this Deponent take notice of the said Dr. Worton; for that he was, or was to be, Doctor to the Regiment, and after Dinner this Informant went to Preston, and the next day to Halton near Lancaster to the House of the said Christopher Carus, where was George Carus his Son, who was to be Cornet to that Troop, and there the said George Carus and this Informant did consult about procuring Men, and securing what Horses they could; but were to meddle with none until they had Orders from the late King James. And this Informant further deposeth, that about a Month after the said Christopher Carus who then was, and had been for some time, a Prisoner at Manchester, had leave to come to his own House at Halton, where this Informant met him, and there he told this Informant, that he had receiv'd a Letter from Mr. William Molyneux, which intimated, that he had dispos'd of the Lieutenant's Place, but he would provide as well for this Informant, whereupon this Informant finding himself to be at an uncertainty, went to the said Mr. Molyneux with Mr. Richard Woolfall of Highton, and then this Informant and the said Woolfall, went to Mr. Harrington's, being a Captain to Mr. Molyneux, who told this Informant that he had more than

Mr. Fazakerley of Spello House, in Lancashire, showed him a commission from the late King James, to raise men for his service; that Mr. Fazakerley had arms wrapped up in straw, and hid under the tiles of his house; that he had promised

his Complement, and the said Capt. Harrington nam'd one Protestant, who this Informant knoweth not, who offer'd himself to be a Soldier; then this Informant said to the said Harrington, I hope you have not told him, to which the said Harrington answer'd no, but said, that the said Protestant told him, that he knew that there was a Design on Foot, and that he would sooner serve under him the said Harrington than under any other Man; then the said Captain shew'd this Informant his fine Laces and said, that all his Arms were in a readiness, and that some of them were at Home and the rest at London; and he further said, he had twelve Pair of Gloves coming down, which he would give to the first twelve Men that came in to him, then the said Capt. Harrington and this Informant had Discourse of how many Troops Coll. Molyneux's Regiment consisted; and the said Capt. Harrington told this Informant, how many there were, but this Informant cannot tell whether he said thirteen or fifteen. And the said Mr. Harrington nam'd these Officers following, viz. Coll. William Molyneux, Lieutenant Coll. Gerrard, Capt. Penny, Capt. Robert Molyneux, Capt. Westby of Mobrick, Capt. Massey of Puddington, Captain Harrington, Capt. Christopher Carus, all of Coll. Molyneux his Regiment, besides some Officers in Staffordshire, and several others engag'd at London, and as for the Majors they were all to come out of Ireland: Then this Informant ask'd the said Harrington, who was his Lieutenant, he answer'd he was coming from London, and had rid in the late King James's Guards and was a good Soldier; this Informant further deposeth, that he hath frequently discoursed in the Company of Coll. Tildesley, Mr. Girlington, Mr. Richard Butler, Mr. Thomas Butler, Mr. Thomas Carus, Mr. Cole and Mr. Henry Butler, that the French design'd Landing in Cornwall or thereabouts, and the English and Irish in Lancashire. And this Informant further deposeth, that before his going to Mr. Harrington as aforesaid, Mr. George Carus of Halton and this Informant design'd to go for Ireland, to receive Orders from the late King James, and to bring them into England, for which purpose this Informant and the said Mr. Carus went to Mr. John Somers of Kirby Lonsdale, and desir'd him to go to Milthrope to provide a Vessel to carry them, and

such of his tenants as would accept service under him for King James, to renew their leases to their children upon their deaths; that he told the deponent that he heard from the late king very often, and that his majesty had lately

the said Mr. Carus went to Coll. Dalton to receive his Advice, who told the said Carus (as he said) that he would not have him go as yet, for that very lately there came a Messenger from King James, who brought Word that so soon as they heard of the Duke of Berwick's landing in Scotland, they might expect the said King's landing in England, and desir'd his Friends to be in what Readiness they could.

This Informant further deposeth, that some time after Mr. Christopher Carus sent his Son George Carus to the said Mr. Dalton who had a Commission, to desire him to provide for this Informant, because Mr. Molyneux had disposed of the Lieutenant's Place which this Informant should have had, the said Mr. Dalton answer'd he would take care of this Informant, but desir'd this Informant should not come to his House for fear of Suspition: And this Informant hath heard by the said Mr. George Carus, that Mr. Dalton had burnt his Commission for fear it should be found, and sent to Mr. Tildesley to do the same, who made answer, he would as soon burn himself, or Words to that effect.

This Informant further deposeth, that Mr. Marsden a Protestant was one of our Companions, and he having a great Estate always protects Roman Catholics when there is Occasion: This Informant further deposeth, that Mr. Husband a Protestant, a Tradesman in Kirby-Lonsdale, sent to London for two Pair of Holster Caps and two Housings, for the use of the Roman Catholics, and hath always been very intimate with them.

And this Informant further deposeth, that the List of Officers hereunto annexed, were to be under the late King James when ever he commanded them, as several of them declared to this Deponent; and as this Informant hath been told by others;

R. Dodsworth.

Jurat' 16 die May
1690. Coram
me,
J. Holt.

sent him word, by a servant of Lord Molyneux, that he would be with them in two months; that John Harrington, Esq., of Egboth, [Aigburth,] told the deponent that he also had received a commission to be a captain under King James, and that Mr. Moore, then in his house, and who had

A list of those Officers I know.

Under Collonel Thomas Tildesley.

Lieutenant Collonel Girlington a Protestant.
Capt. Thomas Tildesley.
Capt. Ralph Tildesley.
Capt. Henry Butler.
Capt. Richard Butler.
Capt. Alexander Butler a Protestant.
Capt. Thomas Carus.
Lieut. William Westby.
Mr. Goodwin the Priest was to raise a Troop at his own Charge, and to put in Officers.
Lieut. George Carus of Sellet.
Lieut. Thomas Butler.
Cornet Knipe Protestant.
Cornet Coale Protestant.

Under Collonel Townley.

Lieut. Coll. Standish.
Capt. Bierley or Barlow.
Cornet Woolfall.
Quarter-Master Ducket.

Under Collonel Molyneux.

Lieut. Coll. Gerrard, Son to Sir William Gerrard.
Capt. Westby.
Capt. Harrington.
Capt. Molyneux.
Capt. Massey.
Capt. Penny.
Capt. Carus Protestant.
Lieut. Stanley.
Lieut. Penalt or such like Name he lives in Wales and came into my Place.
Cornet Carus.
There is also one Coll. Tempest in Yorkshire.

Under Coll. Dalton I know none.

Several of these Officers I had it from their own Mouths, the others only by Hearsay.

R. Dodsworth.

been a captain of dragoons in the late Irish army, was to be his lieutenant.

After Mr. Lunt's committal to Newgate in November, 1689, he remained twenty weeks in confinement there, and then put in bail to appear at Lancaster assizes. In August 1690, he appeared in pursuance of his recognizance, and was committed to Lancaster Castle on a charge of high treason, where he remained a close prisoner until April 1691, when he was tried and acquitted, partly because the custom-house officers, having neglected to mark the papers seized in the pink, were unable to identify them, and the government, always unwilling to prosecute capitally where the proof was doubtful, would not produce them as witnesses against the prisoner; and partly because Charles Cawson falling sick a little before the assizes of a disease that carried him to his long home, Mr. Dodsworth was now the only witness against him, and one witness in a case of high treason is not sufficient.

Dodsworth was shortly afterwards murdered by Mr. Deane, a Jacobite, in consequence, as it is alleged, of a rumoured correspondence between him and Mr. Lunt, and a story which Mrs. Dodsworth confirmed, that Mr. Lunt, imitating her husband's example, had also thoughts of discovering the plot.

Lunt, being discharged from imprisonment, was again employed by his Lancashire friends in listing men and buying arms, in order that, if the king should be taken off in Flanders, the conspirators might be ready for an insurrection in England as soon as the blow was given.

The summer being consumed in these preparations,(1) and the campaign in Flanders having ended without any news either of the king's assassination or of an invasion, Mr. Lunt was sent to France in November 1691, to acquaint the late king that his friends were in a condition to receive him, and to ascertain when his affairs would permit him to make a descent upon the kingdom.

He returned to England in December, bringing intelligence that King James would be here the next spring, and that, in the meantime, Col. Parker and others would be sent over with full instructions how they might best put themselves in a position to receive him.

Col. Parker and Johnson the priest, two of the party who had contrived in France the intended murder of the king and the invasion of England, landed here at the latter end of January 1691-2, to help forward their designs. The murder, which was their favourite project as the only means to make the invasion practicable, was communicated to all such persons as they could trust, and they had hopes of accomplishing it before the king went to Holland; but they were so long in contriving when, where, how, and by whom, it was to be done, that the time for action had elapsed before they had matured their resolves.

Parker communicated the scheme of the descent to the party here by calling together the general officers, and acquainting them in a private manner that their old master

(1) In the *Norris Papers*, p. 24, there is a summons by the Lord Lieutenant, dated at Liverpool, 3rd June, 1691, by which it appears that the government were then mustering soldiers to meet some supposed danger.

had now obtained of the Most Christian King 30,000 effective men; that when the spring was a little more advanced, the late king, who was already moving towards Normandy, would be wafted over with them into England, with an assurance that if the forces were not sufficient France would spare them 30,000 more. He therefore desired them all to be in readiness, and to observe the greatest speed and secrecy imaginable; and then, at the instance of Johnson the priest, addressing more particularly Captain Blaire, he told him that he, Parker, was going to his command in Lancashire, but that at the king's landing he should move southward, and therefore, since his own men were raw, and Captain Blaire's for the most part old officers and soldiers, he desired that the captain would join him.

When Parker went into Lancashire he took with him several good officers, some of whom he kept near himself, and the rest he disposed in Yorkshire and Durham. Parker made his head quarters at Dunkenhalgh, the house of Mr. Walmsley, and thence he issued his orders to the confederates; and because the late king was now at La Hogue, preparing to embark for England, he directed that the arms, which for fear of discovery had been hid in woods and grounds, and buried between walls in cellars and outhouses, should be taken out and forthwith distributed among the officers.(1)

(1) Richard Norris, writing from Liverpool in 1692, says: "The papists are mighty high and most frequently are in great hopes of some considerable things this spring, which the Lord avert." This was on the eve of the battle of La Hogue.

The destruction of the French fleet off La Hogue on the 20th May, 1692, dissipated the hope of an invasion, and for a while baffled the designs of the conspirators. But early in the following year the murder of the king and the invasion of England were again resolved upon. The management of the invasion was this time committed to a knight named Sympson, Major Crosby, Captain Lloyd, and Mr. Walter Crosby. Sympson and Lloyd crossed over from England to France and back about it several times between the beginning of the year 1693 and the following June, and having settled the plan of the invasion, they returned to France in the August of the same year. Major Crosby came into England about Michaelmas 1693, and, after a short stay in London, went down into Lancashire, and thence returned into France.

Mr. Walter Crosby had been educated in Trinity College, Dublin, but had left that society and gone over to France to carry intelligence. From thence he returned through Flanders and England into Ireland, and under the disguise of a Williamite contributed his utmost to overthrow the government, till his practices were discovered, his letters seized, and himself made prisoner, when, having been admitted to bail, he forfeited his recognizances and escaped to France, where his credit with the Court of St. Germains soon procured him the sole management of the invasion plot.

In November 1693 he again came over to England, and was met in London by Col. Parker from Lancashire. His arrival was a great satisfaction to the Jacobites, to whose drooping spirits it gave fresh life and vigour, by infusing new spirit into the cabals of the whole party.

Frequent meetings were now held in order to draw up such proposals as might satisfy the Court of France that the conquest of England was both practicable and easy. Meanwhile Lord Melford, who, although he had lost favour with King James, had still some small share in the management of affairs, finding that his interest was sinking in proportion as the hopes of conquering England declined, resolved to recover his former credit by pushing on the assassination of King William by the methods most likely to effect it. To this end, in the absence of his old confidants, Col. Parker and Johnson the priest, he took to his assistance Mr. Bromfield and Captain Griffin, who promised in a short time to give him a good account of his project from some friends near Dover, whom they had already engaged in this enterprise at the instigation of a person of consequence whose name they only obscurely hinted at.

Whilst they were thus in expectation from Dover, another opportunity of strengthening the number of those already engaged unexpectedly offered itself. The Lancashire gentlemen, anxious to pay their devoirs to the late King, and desirous to receive his commands as usual by a messenger of their own, despatched Mr. Lunt, whose sufferings and services had rendered him the confidant of the party, on this errand into France; and coming to St. Germains on the 3rd July 1693, he delivered his message to the late King in his closet in the presence of Lord Melford, who, thinking this a fit opportunity to promote his plot for the assassination of King William, sent Mr. Lunt to Captain Griffin, telling him that the latter had an affair to engage him in. Captain

Griffin sent him to his old friend Mr. Bromfield, and the latter, after bewailing the ill success that had so long attended the late King's affairs, told Mr. Lunt that they were now upon a quicker expedient for their master's restoration, which was to cut off the Prince of Orange (so they called King William) by any way or method the undertakers might think fit, and if Mr. Lunt would make one in that enterprise, it was promised that he should have a reward of £500 a year. Mr. Lunt consented, and after various discourses at sundry times upon the subject, he was told by Lord Melford, on taking leave, that if the design which had been imparted to him by Griffin and Bromfield should take effect, the late king would soon be in England; and Bromfield, at his departure, gave him a signet to carry to the persons who, as he told him, were in the same design. In December 1693 Mr. Lunt arrived at Dover, and met four of the sixteen persons who were engaged in the assassination of the king, namely, Captain Nowel of Dover, Captain Walton of Folkestone, Mr. Pepper of Dover, and Mr. Preston of Feversham, two of whom acknowledged to him that they were in the design of killing the king, and made no question of effecting their object in a month or two. Mr. Lunt travelling from Dover towards London, told several Romish priests of his acquaintance (though not in plain words) of the design he was engaged in. Some of them were against it as a damnable sin, and others encouraged him to it as a meritorious work. These different opinions, and the dismal reflections that his awakened conscience made upon his engaging in an action so inhuman and barbarous, gave him

so much disquiet that he resolved to act no further in it. But he entertained no intention of discovering the plot until a good friend made him sensible it was his duty to do it.

In the meantime, Mr. Crosby having acquainted himself with the sentiments of the party, and collected the names of those who according to his account were to assist at the invasion and insurrection, was preparing to return to France with his papers, of which, for fear of miscarriage, there were duplicates, one kept by Col. Parker and the other by himself, when he was apprehended and committed to Newgate on the 9th May 1694, and on the 20th of the same month Col. Parker was also arrested and committed to the Tower.

In searching Mr. Crosby's lodgings the messengers found two papers, one of which was a scheme for King James's descent upon England, which has no immediate relation to the Lancashire plot, and the other was an account of the persons to be relied on for help in different parts of the kingdom. In this paper it is said of this neighbourhood — "Cheshire is ready to move for King James with

Sir F. E—n	[Francis Egerton](1)
Sir P. E—n	[Philip Egerton]
Mr. C—y of V–le R—ll	[Cholmondeley of Vale Royal]
Mr. R^{t} Ch—y of H—d	[Mr. Robert Cholmondeley of Holford]
Sir W^{m} M—ll	
Mr. A—n	[Mr. Ardern ?]

(1) The names within [ ] are conjectured to be those of the parties meant.

Mr. M—ll	[Mr. Minshull?]
Mr. Lo—s	[Mr. Lowndes?]
Mr. B—h	[Mr. Booth?](1)
Col. M—ll	
Mr. F—lls	
Mr. B—ks of Norton	[Mr. Brooke?]
Sir Th. S—ley	[Thomas Stanley]

with a great many of the clergy, all high church;" and "there are actually in the north above 4000 men listed ready to march upon occasion, and will be headed by men of consideration, all the north being generally well inclined. His majesty has particular assurance from thence and a true state of those parts before him, so that there is no need we should lay it down here, but this is fit you should rest satisfied of, that the moment he lands Carlisle and Newcastle will be put into his hands, and there will be an attack made on Chester and Berwick."

Mr. Lunt had now been made sensible by his friend, who, he informs us, was Mr. Taffe,(2) that it was his duty to disclose the plot; and accordingly on the 15th June 1694 he appeared before Sir John Trenchard, one of the secretaries of state, and made a full discovery of the whole plot, from its commencement in May 1689 down to the time when he made his deposition on the above date.

Such are the circumstances of the Lancashire plot as they are stated by the court advocates, who, with full command of the government materials, and a knowledge of all the

(1) Probably Mr. Nathaniel Booth of Mottram.

(2) Kingston's *True Hist.*, Appendix, p. 297.

facts, and neither inclined by their interest or their duty to extenuate the charge, must be supposed to have made out as aggravated a case for their patrons as the circumstances would admit of — the sins of such writers are not likely to be sins of omission.

In strictness the present publication is only so far concerned with the plot as the eight gentlemen tried at Manchester are supposed to be implicated in it; but to make the charge against them more intelligible, it has been deemed necessary to give a general outline of the whole plot, because their offence is throughout referred to as proceeding from the plot, while the latter in a great measure, and the guilt or innocence of the accused entirely, rested upon the evidence of the three principal witnesses examined on the trials at Manchester.

The eight gentlemen who were tried at Manchester were,

Caryl Lord Molyneux,
Sir William Gerard,
Sir Rowland Stanley,
Sir Thomas Clifton,
William Dicconson Esq.,
Philip Langton Esq.,
Bartholomew Walmsley Esq. of Dunkenhalgh, and
Mr. William Blundell of Crosby,

all of them Lancashire men except Sir Rowland Stanley, who was a baronet of the adjoining county of Chester.

The depositions of the five seamen, and of John Cawson the owner of the pink, made on the 18th June 1689, five days after the vessel arrived in the Lune, which have been

given in a previous note, show the first stage in the plot depending on disinterested testimony. A similar course has been taken with the informations of Kelly and Dodsworth, from which the reader may see what connexion they establish between the eight prisoners tried at Manchester and the alleged Lancashire plot.

The original depositions which the witnesses Lunt, Womball, and George Wilson made before Sir John Trenchard in June 1694, and which are given by Mr. Kingston, will be printed verbatim in parallel columns with their depositions as they appear in the following manuscript, and the reader will thus have an opportunity not only of comparing both with their evidence given on the trials at Manchester, but of observing the variances to be found in them, and from thence of forming his own judgment on the weight to be attached to such testimony.

The deposition of John Wilson, who was not called as a witness at Manchester, though he was examined shortly before the trial, will be printed at length immediately after the evidence which the three principal witnesses gave at Manchester, and will show what confirmation his evidence gives to theirs.

Except the witnesses above mentioned and a few others examined on the trials at Manchester, and whose evidence appears in the following report of the trials, no other evidence in support of the Lancashire plot was produced until after the trials at Manchester. This supplemental evidence will be hereafter adverted to, and in the mean time we will address ourselves to the case as Mr. Kingston has stated it,

before proceeding to take a more general view of the charge against the prisoners tried at Manchester.

Does it not seem singular at the very outset that Mr. Lunt, coming to England fraught with such a purpose, and bringing papers of such dangerous import, the possession of which involved no less than a capital offence, should for a moment have forgotten the very object of his voyage, and should have pushed off from the ship forgetting a portion of the treasonable papers with which he was charged, and the distribution of which was the only end of his coming. It might have been supposed that but one thought would be uppermost in his mind from the moment the scene of his operations was in view, and that seeing how his safety was involved in it, he would have clutched his papers with more than a miser's grasp. That the papers were left, however, and that he desired the mariners who rowed him ashore to bring them forthwith to him at Cockerham, where he was going to breakfast, is a statement on which all parties are agreed.

But the leaving of the papers is hardly less strange than that which next occurred. The sailors had not got back to the ship before the custom-house officers had come on board, found the papers, and discovered their dangerous character. They made instant pursuit after the culprits. How is it that this hot pursuit did not lead to their apprehension? We have no reason to suppose that they did not breakfast at the neighbouring village of Cockerham, or that they did not rest at Mr. Tildesley's of the Lodge, only a few miles further. They were on foot and alone, and had their

baggage to carry, while their pursuers were many, had horses and means of pursuit and the hue and cry at their command!

How happened it that when both the papers and the pursuit were transferred to the police, the latter had no better success? It would be a strong presumption to suppose that so many officials of different kinds were all lukewarm in the service and protection of the government which paid them. Did they think the papers trifling, or their contents of no serious importance? If they did, they were shortly undeceived, for in five days after Mr. Lunt's landing the mariners made their depositions before Lord Gerard of Brandon, the lord lieutenant of the county, who issued a warrant for the apprehension of the fugitives. Yet even this warrant, coming from so high an authority and on so grave a charge, and commanding on both accounts more than ordinary attention, seems to have secured from the officers no greater diligence in its execution. How else could Mr. Lunt have escaped being taken under it for more than two months after his landing at Cockerham? And when he was taken, it was by no diligence of the officers, for he was imprisoned at the time in Coventry gaol on another charge, and there accidentally recognised by Charles Cawson, who had brought him over.

How otherwise did it happen that Mr. Threlfall, whom Dodsworth and some other of the witnesses mention to have been frequently in the neighbourhood, was never apprehended under the warrant till about the 20th August in the following year, more than twelve months after the landing,

when he was killed near his own house by a corporal of the militia in consequence of attempting resistance? These circumstances are sufficiently strange to require some explanation, but none is offered to us either by Mr. Kingston or Dr. Abbadie, or by any of the writers who have followed them.

It is observable that none of the five seamen whose depositions we have was ever confronted with Mr. Lunt, or ever identified him as the person who came from Ireland in Mr. Threlfall's company. John Preston, the only one of them who describes him, says Mr. Threlfall's companion was a young short man, wore his own hair, and went by the name of Lunt. The deposition made by Charles Cawson is not given either in Mr. Kingston's account or elsewhere. Mr. Kingston had doubtless access to it, and as he affects to print all the evidence and has withheld this, there was evidently some reason for its being withheld. The non-identification of Mr. Lunt and the suppression of Charles Cawson's deposition are both remarkable.

After the rencontre of Charles Cawson and Mr. Lunt in Coventry gaol, an incident which has more the air of a romance or of a purposed contrivance than of an accidental occurrence, Mr. Lunt was conveyed to London, and in November 1689 was committed to Newgate for treasonable practices. This is the statement of Mr. Kingston; but if the committal took place on the evidence of Charles Cawson as he states it, the charge against him would surely be no less than high treason itself. He remained in Newgate twenty weeks, and was then discharged upon bail to appear

at Lancaster assizes. It appears strange that a prisoner committed on so serious a charge should have been allowed to go at large.(1) For such a prisoner one would have thought with Sir Edward Coke that the only bail would be the four walls of his prison. It would be curious if we could ascertain the names of his bail, and still more curious if it should prove, as it proved when he was bailed on a later occasion, that they were engaged in that service by the government.

During his temporary enlargement, Mr. Lunt was as busy as ever, according to Mr. Kingston, in carrying forward the designs of the conspirators, by listing soldiers, conveying messages, and keeping the hopes of the party alive. Does this seem consistent conduct in a man lying under so grave a charge, or is it probable that the Lancashire gentlemen, even if he were willing, should have employed an agent in their dangerous business who was all the while under the watchful eye of the government, and whose activity would almost certainly bring down a heavy charge against themselves?

Mr. Lunt continued at large about three months, and in August 1690 he appeared at Lancaster assizes pursuant to his recognizance, and was then committed to take his trial for high treason. He remained a close prisoner in Lancaster Castle, until about April 1691, "not only," says Mr. Kingston, "maintained by the Lancashire gentlemen, but

(1) Crosby was bailed after having been committed on a similar charge, but the proceeding is characterised as a most unusual one. — *State Trials*, vol. xii. p. 1291, last edition.

caressed and applauded by them as their principal favourite." Before this time both Kelly and Dodsworth had given information of the Lancashire plot, the former in February 1689-90, and the latter in May 1690. Does it seem at all probable that, knowing these facts, if they were really implicated in the charge depending against the prisoner, the Lancashire gentlemen should have given open testimony to their own guilt by maintaining or countenancing Mr. Lunt in prison? Mr. Simon Arrowsmith's evidence that the prisoner Mr. Lunt was poor and shabby while he was in Lancaster Castle, is at direct variance with this statement of Mr. Kingston.

With respect to the deposition of Kelly there are a few circumstances worthy of remark. Who the deponent was, except that he came, as he tells us, to England with the Irish army in 1688, and that he was probably an Irishman, we are wholly ignorant. His deposition, apparently without any good reason, was made before the mayor of Evesham and four of his brother magistrates, persons unknown to the deponent, and at a great distance from Lancashire, the scene where the plot was laid. No year is mentioned as the date of his deposition, but it was no doubt made on the 23rd and 27th February 1689-90, a few months after Mr. Lunt's arrival in Lancashire; but he uses language so conveniently wide that we are left in doubt, most probably by design, whether the visit he describes himself to have made to Lord Molyneux was at Christmas 1688 or at Christmas 1689. If it was at the former period, Mr. Lunt had not then arrived, and if it was at the latter, his being then entertained is even more

unlikely, for Mr. Lunt was at that time in prison, having been apprehended in company with Lord Molineux's steward only a few months before. He very conveniently fixes no date for the time when he saw the commissions at Mr. Tildesley's of the Lodge. Omitting the surprise one feels to find an unknown stranger of no rank or consequence, and, so far as one sees, without any introduction but his uniform, admitted to the confidence of lords and gentlemen, and entrusted by them with secrets that involved their lives, it is a circumstance that excites suspicion that he speaks of Simonswood, meaning the township of that name, as if it were an actual wood, and mentions it as the place where the conspirators had concealed their arms. Mr. Tatlock, to whom he ascribes the keeping of sixty soldiers, must have been a more considerable person than he appears to have been, to bear so great a charge. Moreover, he miscalls Mr. Molyneux's house, with which he affects to be familiar, calling it Morbrow, and defines with needless particularity Mr. Tildesley's of the Lodge to be near the town of Preston. These and other circumstances which he mentions make us view his evidence with suspicion; and his geographical mistakes would almost lead to the belief that he knew Lancashire only by report. He alone of all the witnesses introduces the name of Sir James Poole of Poole Hall, within six miles of Westchester, as having a commission to be colonel of a regiment of foot; while, if we except Lord Molyneux, he does not mention a single prisoner of those tried at Manchester, nor, except Mr. Tildesley, the name of any one conspirator who is mentioned by the other witnesses. But

the strangest circumstance of all is that, having made his deposition before the magistrates, he disappears from the scene, and is never seen or heard of more. He appears like a Will-of-the-wisp, flitting here and there in the gloom of the Lancashire plot, and bewildering and misleading such as trusted to his false light. Mr. Kingston more than hints that Kelly encountered some foul play, but neither he nor any other writer offers any proof of it, and we suspect that it was nothing more than a convenient surmise. Had there been any such proof, the government, who had so deep an interest in establishing his evidence, and to whom the fact of his unfair removal by Jacobite hands would have been a great help, were not likely to withhold it.

The truth of Kelly's evidence might have been easily tested by making search in the cellar under the tower at the entry of Mr. Blundell's house at Ince; but either no search was made, or it failed, for no mention is made of it in the case, where so favourable a circumstance would not have been omitted had the result been of any value to the government.

According to Mr. Kingston, Kelly's information caused many of the Lancashire Roman Catholics to be imprisoned, while others, aware that Mr. Dodsworth had also discovered the conspiracy, and that there were now two witnesses to prove their treason, absconded from their homes; in proof of which he cites the letter of the justices at Middleton. But Kelly's information was given 23rd and 27th February 1689-90, and Dodsworth's not until May 1690, whilst the magistrates' letter bears date 5th April 1690, and contains

no allusion either direct or indirect to Mr. Dodsworth or his evidence. It is true that Mr. Kingston asserts in his text (p. 27) that Mr. Dodsworth had discovered the plot to Mr. Roger Kirby in December 1689, and to the Earl of Macclesfield on 27th March 1690. If so, he discovered the plot before, and not after, Kelly; but we have no proof of either of these dates.

Robert Dodsworth is the next witness to the plot in order of time. In his deposition he assigns no reason why he entered into the plot, nor why, having entered upon it, he betrayed it. But the circumstances which he relates abundantly show that he did both in the hope and with the view of reward, and that the best bidder was likely to secure his services. He describes his having interviews on the subject of the plot with Mr. Christopher Carus whilst the latter was a prisoner at Manchester on suspicion of disaffection to the government; but it seems scarce likely, even if Mr. Carus had been willing to hold such interviews at such a time and under such circumstances, that his keepers should have either not known it or have allowed it.

According to the case, Dodsworth had revealed the conspiracy to his kinsman Roger Kirby at Christmas 1689, while a good part of his deposition is taken up with what must have happened after that time; and in particular he describes a great feasting of the party at Standish Hall, where he was one of the guests, as occurring soon after Christmas 1689. If at this time he had actually betrayed his friends, as we must infer from Mr. Kingston's statement, the utter baseness of his conduct destroys the value of his

testimony. But be the value or the worthlessness of his testimony what it may, it should be observed that his deposition does not compromise any one of the eight gentlemen who were tried at Manchester.

Amongst the other circumstances of suspicion to which Mr. Kingston (p. 24) makes Charles Cawson depose against Mr. Lunt, when the latter was confined in Coventry gaol in August 1689, is the death of Mr. Threlfall. Of this event we have the following account from Mr. Kingston and Dr. Abbadie:

"Threlfall and Lunt having escaped the officers of the customs, hastened to Mr. Tildesley's of the Lodge, and there divided their pacquets. The commissions directed to gentlemen in Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, &c., were taken care of by Mr. Threlfall, who having a guide provided for him, began his journey thither as soon as he had refreshed himself. The rest of the commissions appointed for Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, &c., were committed to the care of Mr. Lunt. Threlfall, pursuant to the late King's orders, having delivered his share of the commissions and what else he had in charge to the more northern gentlemen, privately returned to his own house at Goosner in Lancashire, and having notice there that his treasonable practices were discovered by Mr. Kelly and Mr. Dodsworth and the commissions left in the ship, took all imaginable care to secure himself there till he could find an opportunity to return to the late king in Ireland. But this design encountered a severe disappointment, and he met with the reward of

his treachery. For it having been whispered among the party that he was returned, it quickly took air, and a warrant (as I said before) being out against him from the lord lieutenant, he was sought after by a party of the militia, and found by a corporal in a hollow place made for that purpose in a stack of turves. As soon as he was discovered, the corporal attempting to seize him, Threlfall violently snatched the musket out of the corporal's hand and knocked him down with it, but the corporal recovering himself, and finding his own life and the prisoner's escape in such apparent danger, he drew his sword and ran Mr. Threlfall through the body, of which wound he died immediately."

Dr. Abbadie's account of the same matter is, that "Mr. Threlfall had already finished his negotiation in Yorkshire, and was returning through *Cheshire* to Ireland, when he was pursued upon suspicion, and killed as he was endeavouring to defend himself."

Both accounts agree in the fact of his having been killed in consequence of his making resistance; but not to mention the confusion of geography in Dr. Abbadie's account, which makes his death happen in Cheshire instead of at Goosnargh, a place nearly fifty miles distant, no reader of either account would suppose that Mr. Threlfall, who had been often seen in the neighbourhood of his own house in the interval, where any ordinary diligence might have taken him, survived the issuing of the warrant against him more than twelve months, and was not killed until about the 20th August 1690, as appears by the subjoined register of his burial at

Goosnargh.(1) Without seeing into futurity, therefore, Charles Cawson could not have deposed to the fact of his death in August 1689; and the inference hence arises that Mr. Kingston so misstated the fact for no other reason but to strengthen a case which he felt to be weak.

At the assizes at Lancaster in April 1691 Mr. Lunt was tried and acquitted. We are told by Mr. Kingston that he escaped, first, because the custom-house officers having omitted to mark the commissions, declarations, and other papers found in the pink, before delivering them out of their custody, and being consequently now unable to identify them, the government, unwilling to prosecute where the proof was at all doubtful, would not produce the officers at the trial; and secondly, because Charles Cawson the master of the pink having fallen sick, a little before the assizes, of the disease which carried him to his long home, and the mariners being all at sea, there remained only Mr. Dodsworth as a witness, and one witness is not sufficient in a case of treason. Dr. Abbadie's statement is to the same effect, except that with respect to Charles Cawson he merely says that he either was or pretended to be sick at the time of the trial, and he says nothing of his subsequent death.

But does it seem probable, either that the custom-house people, when they delivered up the treasonable papers, not in

(1) "August 1690. Bur. was Edmund Threlfall of Goosnargh the 26th day."

I hereby certify that this is a true extract from the book of registers kept at Goosnargh Church.

ROBERT STUDHOLME,
Minister of Goosnargh.

9th Oct., 1852.

a time of security but of danger, should either have omitted so plain a part of their duty as to mark them, or that the authorities to whom they were given up should have suffered it?

If the sickness of Charles Cawson were real, it seems strange that it should have come on at such an inconvenient time, or that the government, if they really wanted his testimony, should not have had the trial put off in order to produce him.(1) That the government did not take this course, strengthens the suspicion before alluded to, that there must have been some reason for withholding his deposition. But every one of the five seamen and the boy knew almost as much of the matter as Charles Cawson, and none of them was produced. Now as the assizes did not at all events come upon the government by surprise, for the time was of their own fixing, it was surely in their power, had they wished it, to secure the presence of some or all of the seamen. They were not persons sailing on distant voyages; or if they were, they might either have been stayed for the trial, or the trial might have been stayed to await their return.

From other sources we learn that not only was Mr. Dodsworth produced on the trial, but that Mr. Redman was also

(1) "Zounds! how has he the leisure to be sick
In such a justling time?"
they might have exclaimed; but they would not need to add with Hotspur,
"Sick now! droop now! this sickness doth infect
The very life blood of our enterprise,"
for the court, upon a proper application, would have put off the trial.

examined;[1] and if so, there were two witnesses produced; and even in high treason it is not required that there should be two witnesses to speak to the same overt act.

Mr. Dodsworth, it should be observed, throughout the whole of his deposition never once mentions Mr. Lunt, or implicates either him or any one of the gentlemen tried at Manchester in the Lancashire plot.

Had the government believed the plot, or been really in earnest, they might have found evidence to support the charge; and the case would not have been so loosely managed unless they had purposely designed to let Mr. Lunt escape to serve their purposes elsewhere, or at some other time. Possibly they had already discovered that he might be useful as a spy, and they designed by his means to penetrate the secrets of the disaffected. He was to be a tame pigeon kept to fly when other flocks were on the wing, in order to allure them into the traps set for them by its owner.

But we are told that shortly after the trial Mr. Dodsworth was murdered by two brothers named Deane, professed Jacobites, on account of the evidence which he had given on the trial. This murder probably took place, if at all, in 1692,[2] at a long interval after the trial, and it does

(1) Dr. Abbadie (p. 75) mentions this person as having been murdered in two days after he had given his deposition, but Mr. Baines (*Hist. Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 62,) says that he was murdered two days after the trial.

(2) Mr. Oldmixon (*Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 71) and Mr. Kingston (p. 145) mention the murder. Mr. Baines (vol. ii. p. 64) also mentions it, and also the murder of Mr. Redman. But none of the three mentions the exact date of Mr. Dodsworth's murder; but I collect from other sources that it must have been about 1692.

not seem clear what relation there was between the murder and the trial at Lancaster.

Who were these brothers Deane? were they tried for the murder? and what was the result? are questions to which I have been unable to find answers. If the object was to stifle evidence, it would have been more to the purpose, and would have had less of the character of wanton and gratuitous wickedness, to have made away with Mr. Dodsworth before and not after the trial. He had then told all he knew, and it had proved harmless. He might therefore have been dismissed to live on in well merited infamy and contempt.

All accounts agree that Mr. Dodsworth, before his death, was in correspondence with Mr. Lunt to induce him also to confess, and that the latter had fallen in with the suggestion, and that this was the more immediate occasion of the murder of Mr. Dodsworth. The latter, it will be remembered, had received a considerable reward for his discovery, and he probably hoped still further to better his position by getting Mr. Lunt to join him, as it is sometimes found that slow hounds will hunt best in couples. But if this overture to Mr. Lunt, and that he had listened to it, were known to the Lancashire gentlemen, as Mr. Kingston (p. 145) says it was, how improbable does it seem that they should afterwards have continued their confidence in Mr. Lunt, and have employed him, as Mr. Kingston asserts, with more boldness than ever in carrying on their treasonable designs. If he was carrying on the pretended plot on his own account with the view of ultimately selling his services to the government, or if he

were a spy in their pay, we can easily conceive that his recent escape would embolden him in his course, for it stamped upon him the character of a martyr while he had escaped its danger; but, if he had really been the agent of the Lancashire gentlemen, it is scarcely credible either that they should continue to employ him after the trial or that he should have been willing to be so employed.

The deposition of Mr. Edward Robinson, which comes next in order, is nowhere set out at length, and all that we know of it is from the abstract printed by Mr. Kingston. It may be sufficient to observe upon it, that Mr. Fazakerley, the conspirator whom he principally implicates, is never mentioned by Mr. Lunt; and that, except Mr. Harrington(1) of Aigburth a secondary personage in the plot, and a hearsay allusion to Lord Molyneux, he does not mention any one of the prisoners tried at Manchester, or any of the Lancashire conspirators who are named either by Mr. Lunt or by any other of the witnesses.

In Mr. Kingston's case it is stated that no sooner was Mr. Lunt discharged at Lancaster than he was again busy, at the instance and expense of his Lancashire friends, in buying arms and enlisting soldiers; and that in November 1691 he was

(1) In the *Norris Papers* (p. 24) there is a letter dated 12th April 1701, in which it is said, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Blundell have shown themselves very ill men to his majesty's government, and that had this been discovered within the time limited by law for punishing offences of this nature, they might have been severely proceeded against; but one of the offences being committed six years since and the latter above two years ago, the law cannot take hold of them. Probably the offence of six years was the charge made by Robinson, and the writer did not know of it sooner.

again sent to France to concert measures with King James and bring back intelligence to the conspirators, and that he returned in the following month bringing back the necessary information. If the government really believed the existence of the Lancashire plot, is it probable that they would have been so supine as to suffer this enlisting of soldiers and collecting of arms, or that they could be ignorant of Mr. Lunt's disaffected movements; or, if they knew them, that they should not have stopped them by apprehending him either as he went or returned from France, unless he was acting under their connivance?

We are next introduced to Col. Parker and Johnson the priest,(1) two of the party who are said to have contrived in France the intended murder of King William. Both these persons are frequently mentioned by the witnesses(2) in the *State Trials*. The former appears to have been originally an officer in King James's service in Ireland, and rose to be colonel of his guards. Johnson's real name was Harrison, and he is called by some of the witnesses a monk, by others father Johnson, and by others Johnson the priest. He is said to have been always a great manager in King James's affairs, and Dr. Abbadie (p. 78) tells us that he was an active and zealous agent of the party, and was so far from being troubled with the scruples and checks of a tender conscience that he never looked upon anything as difficult or criminal that might serve to promote the interest of the faction.

(1) By some mistake, Ralph (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 528) substitutes the name of Mr. Walmsley in the place of Johnson.

(2) Bertram, De la Rue, Brice Blair, Harris, Fisher.

Parker and Johnson arrived in England in January 1691-2, shortly after Mr. Lunt's visit to France, and partly, as we are told, in consequence of it. The murder of the king, a design to which Mr. Lunt tells us he was privy, was their favourite project, and they communicated it to all such persons as they could trust, but throughout the whole conspiracy not a single Lancashire name,(1) Col. Parker's ex-

(1) In George Harris's information, sworn 28th March 1696, (*State Trials*, vol. xii. p. 1325, edit. 1812,) it is stated that Mr. Blackburne, a Lancashire gentleman, came from thence to St. James's in the spring of 1695, and had tenpence a day allowed him; and on the trial of Rookwood (*State Trials*, vol. xiii. p. 199) the same witness swore that Mr. Blackburne, whose christian name was Robert, was one of the five persons (Rookwood, Hare, Handford, and the witness himself were the others) who were to attack the King about the end of February 1696. The case of Mr. Blackburne is almost without parallel for its hardship and injustice. In a petition dated July 5th 1727, in which he joins with John Bernardi and Robert Cassels, (*State Trials*, vol. xiii. p. 775,) he sets forth that he and his co-petitioners were committed to Newgate in April 1696, charged, but without oath or any mention of an oath in the warrant, with conspiring to assassinate King William; that no proof appearing against them, several acts of parliament had been passed to keep them in prison; that the last of these acts, which left them to his late majesty's pleasure, expired on his majesty's demise; that originally six persons were charged with the above crime, James Counter, Robert Meldrum, James Chambers, and the three petitioners; that Counter was set at liberty by Queen Anne, and Meldrum and Chambers had died in prison; that the three petitioners who alone survived solemnly denied the crime charged against them; that a bill was then before parliament, which proposed to continue their confinement; and that though they were reduced to great misery by a confinement of thirty-one years and upwards in a loathsome gaol, the government had never made them the smallest pecuniary allowance for their maintenance; and they prayed therefore that the proposed bill might not pass.

Bernardi, one of the petitioners, remained in Newgate until his death,

cepted, if indeed he was from Lancashire, is ever mentioned in connexion with the assassination plot.

Very shortly after his arrival Col. Parker repaired into Lancashire, and took up his quarters at Dunkenhalgh, the seat of Mr. Walmsley, one of the prisoners tried at Manchester, but who was not in England at this time nor for several years afterwards. One of Col. Parker's first steps on his arrival was to distribute among the officers the arms which up to this time had been concealed in woods and grounds, and buried between walls and in cellars and outhouses, of all places the most unlikely for keeping articles so liable to be injured by rust and damp.

Before this time the vigilance of the Lancashire magistrates had been excited, and Col. Parker's presence in the county was either not as notorious as we should suppose from the account of his proceedings, or it must have been winked at by the authorities.(1) Is it possible that during

which happened in April 1736, at the age of eighty-two, when he had been forty years a prisoner without ever being brought to trial. What became of Robert Blackburne and Robert Cassels we do not know, but their fate was probably similar.

Many other particulars of this extraordinary case are given in the *State Trials*, but enough has been stated to excite our especial wonder, and to make us doubt whether we are reading a relation of what actually occurred in England so lately as the eighteenth century!

But whatever Mr. Robert Blackburne's guilt or innocence, his name is never introduced until a period subsequent to the so called Lancashire plot.

(1) The act of 3 William and Mary c. 13 (1691) against corresponding with their majesties' enemies, enacts that any subject of their majesties voluntarily going or repairing or embarking in any vessel with intent to go to France or any dominions of the French king, shall be guilty of high

his stay at Dunkenhalgh Col. Parker personated Mr. Walmsley and assumed his name, and that in this manner the witness Oliver Pearson(1) was deceived into the belief that he had seen Mr. Walmsley at Dunkenhalgh, when in truth he had only seen Col. Parker his double?

In the year 1693 a new plot to murder the king and invade the kingdom was resolved on, and a knight named Sympson, Major Crosby, Captain Lloyd, and Mr. Walter Crosby, we are told, were the persons first engaged in it. Two of the conspirators, having passed and repassed several times between France and England and settled the plan for the invasion, returned in the August of the same year to France. About Michaelmas following, Major Crosby returned to England, and after staying a short time in London, went down into Lancashire, and then returned to France. What was the immediate object of this visit into Lancashire, to whom it was made, how he employed himself, whether he saw any and which of the Lancashire gentlemen, and if so, what was the result, are all questions on which we require to be informed? The object, as we are led to infer, was to set matters in order before the expected arrival of Mr. Walter Crosby. The latter arrived in England from France in November 1693, and was met by Col. Parker out of Lancashire, when numerous meetings of the party took place with

treason; and another section enacts that any such subject who shall return from France, &c. without leave should be committed to prison for a period not exceeding twelve months. There would have been no difficulty in reaching Col. Parker under this statute.

(1) See his deposition, p. 73, *post*.

a view of satisfying the French court that the conquest of England was both practicable and easy; but again, happily, no Lancashire name is mentioned amongst those who thus assembled for treason.

In the mean time Lord Melford, whose "star had long been westering," conceived the hope of recovering his waning influence by means of a new attempt to take off King William by the hand of an assassin; and very conveniently for his purpose there arrived in France at this juncture Mr. Lunt, an envoy charged by the Lancashire gentlemen to convey to King James their loyal duty, and to bring back to them his majesty's commands. On the 3rd July 1693 he was admitted to an audience with the king in the presence of Lord Melford, and the latter thought he saw at a glance an instrument exactly fitted for his purpose. Accordingly he sent Mr. Lunt to Captain Griffin, telling him at the same time that the latter had an affair to engage him in. Captain Griffin sent him to Mr. Bromfield, who with some regrets over past failures told him it was now intended to cut off the Prince of Orange by what way soever they could, and he invited Mr. Lunt to make one in the attempt, and promised him £500 a year as his reward.

Without any real or apparent compunction Mr. Lunt at once assented to this startling proposal; yet we find him lingering in France nearly six months after he received it. Why did he thus tarry so long in France?

> Between the acting of a dreadful thing
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.

A bolder man than Mr. Lunt, embarked in so dreadful a design, would either have hastened to execute it, or been frightened out of his purpose before so long a lapse of time.

In December Mr. Lunt left France for England, and at his departure he was assured by Lord Melford(1) that, if the assassination plot succeeded, King James would very shortly be in England; and he delivered him a signet to show to his fellow conspirators in England as an introduction to their society and a voucher that he might be trusted!

Why was not this signet produced at Manchester, where it would have been of some use as corroborating by at least the show of evidence Mr. Lunt's testimony, which stood in much need of such support. But it was neither produced nor was any account given to explain why it was not produced.

Mr. Lunt arrived in England in December 1693, and met four of his fellow conspirators at Dover. Dr. Abbadie (p. 69) makes the number five, and it is probable that Mr. Lunt himself made the number different at different times. Mr. Lunt gives us the names of his four accomplices, but none of them appears to have had any the least connexion with Lancashire. None of them occurs before as engaged in any treasonable plot, no Lancashire person is ever mentioned to have been engaged with them, and none of the

(1) This nobleman (a brother of the Earl of Perth) and his colleague, Lord Middleton, were proceeded against and outlawed in Scotland, whilst they were both absent from the country, in 1695. Shortly after the death of James II. the latter was created Earl of Monmouth by the Pretender. (Oldmixon, vol. iii. pp. 121, 218, 245.)

prisoners tried at Manchester was implicated either by name or inference in the charge. Mr. Lunt says two of the four persons whom he met at Dover acknowledged their connexion with the plot. But how the murder was to be accomplished, what concert there was amongst the conspirators, (much there could not be when only two of the four would acknowledge that they knew anything of it,) where and when the deed was to be done, who was their leader, and almost every other particular of the design, are points on which we are left in such darkness as may well breed doubt and distrust of the whole story.

Up to this time Mr. Lunt does not even pretend that he had any misgivings as to the serious course in which he was engaged. But, says Mr. Kingston, (p. 60,) as he travelled from Dover to London he communicated, although not in plain terms, the design he was engaged in to several Roman Catholic priests that he knew. The different opinions they expressed upon it, some being in favour of it and others dissuading him from it as a damnable sin, made him, he says, determine to have nothing more to do with it. On the trial, as it will shortly appear, he gave a different account both of the origin of his compunctions and the place of their birth. It may be sufficient to express our surprise here that he should have received such different opinions from the priests, when he did not exactly inform them what the design was; or that his compunctions should have been awakened now, after having given him no trouble or alarm in the previous assassination plots to which he admits he had been privy.

Hitherto, Mr. Lunt tells us, he had only resolved not to make one in the band of assassins, but after some months wavering in his mind he was persuaded, he says, by his good friend Mr. Taffe[1] that it was his duty to discover it to the government. But Bishop Burnet, himself a believer in the plot, says that instead of being struck with horror and remorse Mr. Lunt was only bold and poor, and turned informer for the sake of the reward; and Mr. Ralph[2] says it was not Mr. Lunt, but the Dover conspirators, who were struck with horror and remorse, and discovered the plot to the Council. On the trials at Manchester, when Mr. Taffe had deserted his colours and was no longer either Mr. Lunt's familiar or his friend, it was not Mr. Taffe but a Carthusian friar in France who had disturbed Mr. Lunt's conscience and recalled him to a sense of his duty.

In the meantime happened the apprehension of Mr. Crosby and Col. Parker, of whom the former was apprehended and sent to Newgate on the 9th May 1694, and the latter to the Tower on the 20th of the same month, both charged with high treason. Mr. Lunt at this time had doubtless heard of Col. Parker's assassination plot, for we learn from Dr. Abbadie (p. 85) that the latter had rated some of his confederates for talking of this matter of which they had heard from Crosby, and he immediately saw that, when the public mind was excited by vague and alarming rumours and the apprehension of important criminals, it was the very time when he might become the inventor and informer of a plot with every prospect of not only gaining a ready credence

(1) Kingston, p. 297. (2) *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 529.

but of turning his ingenuity to profit, in short, that the time was come when he might strike for a large reward. Accordingly on the 24th June 1694 he appeared before Sir John Trenchard, one of the secretaries of state, and made the deposition which in its direct consequences led to the trials of the eight gentlemen at Manchester.

Mr. Lunt had doubtless some general knowledge of the nature of the charge against Col. Parker and Mr. Crosby, but he probably at this time did not know the exact contents of the papers found in the lodgings of the latter, containing the scheme of King James's descent upon England and an account of the persons to be relied on for help in different parts of the kingdom. Had he known them he might have made his charge cohere better together, and his ignorance in this respect was a fortunate circumstance for the Lancashire gentlemen. In the latter of the two papers are enumerated the names of such of King James's friends as might be relied on for help in different parts of the kingdom, and it is very remarkable that in that list, where Cheshire is expressly mentioned, the name of Sir Rowland Stanley, one of the prisoners tried at Manchester, is neither mentioned nor alluded to, and that not only is no Lancashire list given, but the county is never mentioned by name, and the only passage where allusion to it may be thought to be made is the place in which it is stated that four thousand men are listed in the north and ready to march upon occasion, which seems rather to point to the remote north; for while it proceeds to mention that the moment the king lands Carlisle and Lancaster will be put into his hands, and

that an attack will be made on Chester and Berwick, it makes no allusion to Liverpool as a place to be either seized or attempted.

Mr. Lunt knew that Col. Parker had been in Lancashire, and knowing also the bias of the Lancashire gentlemen he naturally imagined that they would many of them be implicated by name in the charge against Col. Parker.

On the 12th August 1694 Col. Parker escaped from the Tower. The government offered a large reward for his recapture, but he escaped to France and was never afterwards retaken, which, if what Mr. Ferguson(1) tells us be true, the ministry had no reason to regret. He says that, after the prisoner had been committed to the Tower, Sir John Trenchard told Lord Lucas the governor that although he had not witnesses against him he meant to keep him until he should find some; and that this fact having somehow transpired the prisoner forthwith set about devising the means of escape, which he ultimately accomplished by the assistance of his friend Mr. Johnson, who did not desert him in this emergency.(2) His companion Mr. Crosby, after remaining some months longer in prison, was brought to trial and acquitted in the spring of the following year.(3)

(1) See his letter to Sir John Trenchard.

(2) The christian name of Col. Parker is nowhere mentioned by Mr. Kingston or Dr. Abbadie; but in Mr. Bayley's *History of the Tower* he is called Col. John Parker, and said to have been committed on 22nd May 1694. I have been unable to identify him with any Lancashire family of his name.

(3) The prisoner's christian name was Walter, but it is omitted in the short report printed in the *State Trials*, vol. xii. p. 1291, edit. 1812. Old-

Such are the remarks, perhaps already too far extended, which suggest themselves on the case made out by the court writers, Mr. Kingston and Dr. Abbadie. If the meshes of the net which these writers have thrown over the Lancashire gentlemen are not strong, the fault lies in the staple of their materials — their inclination was stronger than their facts. We may now take a more general view of the charge upon which the eight gentlemen were arraigned and tried at Manchester.

When King James left the kingdom, to the great contentment of a large majority of the nation, he carried with him the regrets of numbers of the people, who from attachment to the monarch or his family, a belief in the doctrine of *divine right*, or a sympathy with his religious views, would have been glad that his hereditary sceptre had continued to sway the country. "It is impossible," says Mr. Hume, referring to an earlier crisis in our history,(1) "but that such a great and sudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art or in lieu of it great violence to extirpate them." In no part of the kingdom was attachment to the departed monarch stronger than in Lancashire. Some of our county gentlemen who survived to the Revolution had suffered in their own persons and many more by their ancestors in the cause of Charles I., and they were adherents of the Stuarts both by hereditary attachment and from personal affection.

mixon (vol. iii. p. 71) hints that the prisoner was afterwards employed by Harley in a place of trust under government.

(1) The accession of Edward IV.

Many of them also shared the faith of the exiled monarch, and, having suffered in the cause, persecution(1) had only

(1) Where there was religious difference, persecution was sometimes resorted to on very frivolous grounds, as in the following instance from *The Court and Times of Charles I.*, vol. i. p. 58, where Sir Thomas Gerard, the first baronet of his family and an ancestor of one of the prisoners tried at Manchester, was the sufferer:

Sir Thomas Gerard of the Brin in Lancashire, a great recusant, who was chosen a burgess in the last parliament of King James, but could not be found, though the house made much search for him, because he had not taken the oaths of allegiance, was lately by mandate of the council attached by the sheriff of the county, Mr. Holland of Heaton, (he was sheriff in 1625,) and placed in custody. The occasion was, two maids of his washing clothes at a pit fell a talking of the brave times that would shortly be for their religion; when Mr. Turner, a busy justice of peace, would be turned out of office, Mr. Horne, parson of Winneck, should have horns set upon his head, and the bishop of Chester (Dr. John Bridgman, advanced to that see in 1618) that bore himself so high, should be hoisted a peg higher to his little ease. "And my brother Robert," (Sir Thomas's groom,) saith one to the other, "is one of those that must kill the king." This discourse being overheard by a pedlar, or some such loose fellow, who was lying sunning behind a hedge, he goes presently to an honest and substantial man of the town, one Prescot, and tells him what he heard Sir Thomas's maids talking at the pit. He presently informs the parson. Mr. Allen the parson writes to the bishop of Chester; he to the lords of the council. They send a mandate to the sheriff to apprehend him, which he did on Monday was sennight; but upon two days' respite, he took bail for £2,000 that he should yield himself at the Bull at Manchester the Tuesday night following. But he repented him, for Sir Thomas borrowed two days more, and came not in till Thursday night, to the sheriff's no small perplexity. He is now in the sheriff's custody, with a guard, lest he should escape or be rescued. — Related to me by one (Mr. Moselay's tutor) who was then present, and understood the whole from the sheriff's own mouth. Yet the grounds are so feeble, that I think it will prove no great matter. I tell you this circumstantially, because there goes stranger reports abroad, but all false.

Page 63: Sir Thomas Gerrard of Lancashire is in the Tower, as they write from London.

the more endeared it to them. These persons sympathised with the late monarch on religious grounds. But besides these there were in Lancashire great numbers of Nonjurors, persons who, though resenting the violence of King James, could not yet be persuaded that they were absolved from their allegiance or at liberty to transfer it to his successor.(1)

From all these circumstances it was plain that the soil was sown broadcast with the seeds of discontent, and the Lancashire gentlemen became therefore not unreasonably at an early period objects of suspicion to the new government. Suspicion often generates the thing it fears; and accordingly it happened that some of the Lancashire gentry soon justified the suspicion of which they were the object. On the 9th April, 1690, a warrant was issued against Mr. Blundell,(2) of Ince, who is said to have absconded; and

(1) The widely extended distrust of King James's proceedings on the eve of the Revolution is shewn by the charge of Mr. Justice Allibone to the grand jury at Lancaster assizes, on the 12th of August 1687, in which he complained with some acrimony that no Protestants but Bishop Cartwright, Lord Brandon, and Sir Daniel Fleming, had joined the usual procession to escort the judges into Lancaster. — See Bishop Cartwright's *Memoirs*.

(2) This was Henry Blundell Esq. of Ince Blundell. The following sketch may help to supply a hiatus occurring in the pedigree published in Mr. Burke's *Commoners* under Weld-Blundell: —

Robert Blundell Esq. of Ince Blundell. = Maria, daughter of Richard Massey Esq. of Rixton.

Robert, born 1574. | Thomas. | Richard.

Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Tildesley. = Henry Blundell Esq. of Ince Blundell, living 1694.

1st wife. Catherine, daughter of Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, Bart. = Robert Blundell of Ince Blundell, Esq., born 1685, died 5th August 1763, aged 78. = Margaret, daughter of Hugh Anderton of Euxton, Esq.

Col. Molyneux,(1) Col. Townley,(2) and Col. Tildesley,(3) three members of distinguished families in the county, rendered themselves so active in the cause of the exiled monarch that upon the passing of the Indemnity Act in 1690 they were expressly excepted from its provisions by name. Nor were these solitary instances; for Mr. Walmsley, one of the prisoners tried at Manchester, followed the king into exile, and remained abroad until shortly before the trials at Man-

(1) Col. Molyneux was the son of Caryl Lord Molyneux, one of the prisoners tried at Manchester.

(2) Richard Townley Esq. of Townley, probably the person mentioned in the text, was tried and acquitted in 1716 for joining the rebels in the previous year.—Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 639; Baines, vol. ii. p. 71. The Townleys, who were Roman Catholics, had been great sufferers for their faith, as appears by the *History of Whalley*, p. 488. In the rebellion of 1745, Francis Townley, the nephew of the above Richard, was taken in arms under the Stuart banner, and shortly afterwards tried and executed.—Baines, vol. ii. p. 71. The constancy of the family to the fallen house was worthy of a better cause and a better fate!

(3) Thomas Tildesley Esq. of the Lodge in Myerscough, the grandson of Sir Thomas Tildesley who fell in Wigan Lane, and father of Edward Tildesley who joined the rebels at Lancaster in 1715 and who was tried and acquitted for that offence the following year. After his apprehension in North Lancashire, Edward Tildesley was conveyed to London to be tried, and he remained one night at Warrington on his way.—*Lancashire Mem. of the Rebellion in* 1715, pp. 181, 221, and Oldmixon vol. iii. p. 639. James Tildesley, his son and successor, is said to have served in the army of Prince Charles Edward in 1745, so that three generations in succession adventured their lives for the Stuarts. There is a melancholy account of the decline of this ancient family given in the *Norris Papers*, p. 137. A few additional dates and circumstances of the family pedigree, gleaned from deeds and papers to which I have had access through the kindness of Thomas Lyon Esq. of Appleton Hall and James Nicholson Esq. of Thelwall Hall, are embodied in the subjoined sketch of

THE LATER PORTION OF THE TILDESLEY PEDIGREE.

Edward Tildesley of Tildesley and Morley, Esq., died 1618. — Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Preston of Holker. She survived her husband, and married, 2ndly, Thomas Lathom of Parbold, and, 3rdly, Thomas Westby of Burne.

Frances, daughter of Ralph Standish Esq. of Standish. In several deeds during the Usurpation she is merely described as "widow," without the addition of dame or lady, but afterwards she resumed her proper title; she was living 21st May 1676. — Sir Thomas Tildesley, a Major-general in the Royal Army, slain in the fight in Wigan-lane, August 25, 1651.

Edward, died young.

2nd wife. Elizabeth, daughter of Adam Beaumont of Whitley, Esq.

Edward Tildesley, born 1635; sold Tildesley in 1675; made his Will 26th August, 1685. He seems, from an entry in Bishop Cartwright's *Diary*, to have been dead in 1687.

1st wife. Anne, daughter of Sir Thos. Fleetwood, Baron of Newton; married at Standish church 26 Nov. 1655.

Thomas, born 1642, living 1702.
Ralph, born 1644, living 1st of July, 1694.

Bridget, wife of Henry Blundell of Ince Blundell, Esq.

Elizabeth.
Frances, wife of Thomas Stanley of Eccleston.

Anne, Abbess of the English Nuns at Paris, living 1721.
Dorothy.
Margaret.
Mary, wife of Richard Crane.

2nd wife. Agatha, probably a Winkley. She is described as his wife in 1710. She survived her husband; and Winifred Winkley took out Letters of Administration, with Will annexed.

Thomas Tildesley Esq. of the Lodge; born 1657; living in 1712; probably died before 1715.

1st wife. Eleanor, daughter and one of the two co-heiresses of Thomas Holcroft Esq. of Holcroft; married in 1679.

Edward.

Anna Maria, living in 1748.

Frances.

Dorothy, living in 1725, and then described as a widow.

Edward Tildesley, of the Lodge in Myerscough, Esq., living in 1715. He took up arms for the Pretender, and joined the Rebels at Lancaster on 12th Nov. 1715, and was afterwards in the catalogue of Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, &c. made out in the reign of Geo. I. He is set down as having an estate worth £720 9s. 2d. a year.

Fleetwood, 1702.

James, 1702.

Charles, 1712.

Sarah, died 1770. — James, living in 1761, when he was described as of Holcroft; sold Morley in 1755; died August 1765.

1 Thomas. 2 Charles. 3 James. 4 Henry. Jane.

chester, when he came home with King William's pass, and one of the Lancashire Scarisbricks,(1) who was chaplain and preacher to King James, accompanied his majesty abroad and remained with him until he died. At this time the Lancashire gentry, especially those of the Roman Catholic faith, were by frequent intermarriages singularly allied and compacted into one body of friends and relatives. The Tildesleys, the Molyneuxes, the Standishes, and many others, were thus bound together by mutual alliances, and while some of them refused at first to take the oaths, many others either retired from the country, or left their homes and lived in retirement elsewhere, to avoid being compelled to an open acknowledgment of King William.

Some of these parties, as we have already seen, were either actually arrested and sent to prison, or a watch was set over them at their own houses or in other places.

This suspected body caused much uneasiness to the new government. The dawn of the Revolution had seemed to favour and invite a movement on the part of King James's friends. Before the battle of the Boyne, fought on 1st July 1690, he had an army in the field and the semblance of a throne in the sister kingdom, and from that time until the spring of 1692 he had large promises of support from France, and it was by no means improbable that he might effect a descent upon England, backed by a considerable armament supplied by the French monarch.

(1) Edward Scarisbrick, better known by his assumed name of Nevill.—Oliver's *Account of the English Jesuits*. It is said that he became chief of the Jesuits at Valladolid after the death of King James, but he returned to England and died in 1709.

Under all these circumstances, it was to be expected that charges of treason would arise against those Lancashire gentlemen who were the known adherents of King James, and these charges, as we have seen, at length assumed shape and lineaments, and resolved themselves into the Lancashire plot:

> What seemed *its* head
> The likeness of a kingly crown had on.

Historians are at variance in their opinions on the reality of the plot, and the charge against the eight prisoners tried at Manchester which arose out of it, and which was especially relied on to prove its existence.

Mr. Oldmixon, a contemporary writer to whom we are indebted for numerous particulars of the plot, professes his entire belief in its reality, and gives full credit to all the witnesses. But he was the writer of the apotheosis of George the First,(1) and our confidence in his authority is shaken by his undisguised partisanship.

Bishop Burnet, also a contemporary, and also but not equally a partisan, professes his belief in the plot, but even he, though writing "recentibus odiis," rejects all the witnesses but Womball the carrier,(2) and rests his judgment exclusively on his evidence.

Mr. Tindal without, as it appears, taking the usual pains to satisfy himself of the facts, gives in his adhesion to the plot; while Mr. Smollett, who has paid more attention to the evidence, arrives at the very opposite conclusion.

(1) See the conclusion of the third volume of his *History of England*. Mr. Oldmixon is immortalised in the *Dunciad*.

(2) Ralph's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 530.

Mr. Ralph, after weighing all the circumstances with temper and impartiality, and giving his readers an opportunity of judging of the evidence on both sides, has arrived at the deliberate conviction that the story of the Lancashire plot rested on no solid foundation.

From the doubts created by these opposite opinions the lover of truth will be glad to escape to a region where his foot may find safe resting-place, while the Lancashire reader will rejoice to discover, if he can, the means of relieving his countrymen from the stigma of the Lancashire plot.

The charges of Kelly, Dodsworth, and Robinson have been already disposed of; and no one, after carefully considering their informations, will place much reliance upon them, or believe in the existence of any such extended or ramified design amongst our countrymen as entitled it to be called the Lancashire plot. It is probably to this period, though, if so, there is a slight discrepancy in dates, that Mr. Smollett refers (vol. i. p. 141), under the year 1691, when he informs us that "the parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire to raise a rebellion and restore King James to the throne, several persons were seized and some witnesses examined, but nothing appeared to justify the information." The evidence of the above three informers applies wholly to events occurring in or previous to 1690, and if, which may be doubted, they fasten the guilt of treason upon any of the Lancashire gentlemen, it can only be upon a small number, and that at a time when men hardly knew where their allegiance was due; there were then two suns above the political horizon,

and a good man might reasonably doubt to which he should pay his devotions—the rising or the setting luminary! And at all events, the transactions to which these informers speak could not be the same plot which was charged against the Lancashire gentlemen in 1694. Dodsworth, moreover, was examined on Mr. Lunt's first trial, and was unable to fix treason upon *him;* how much less likely was it that he should fasten it upon any of the Lancashire gentlemen, and how wholly impossible that his testimony should implicate them in the guilt of actions occurring long after his own decease!

But Kelly, Dodsworth, and Robinson having led the way and indicated the names of such as had Jacobite leanings,(1) their example was sure to find imitators, more especially when it was known that Dodsworth, notwithstanding his religion, had been admitted into favour and had received a substantial pecuniary reward.

Mr. Lunt was the arch informer and accuser of the Lancashire gentlemen. Their predilections, their faith, their

(1) An index to men's opinions in this neighbourhood was gained from their intimacy with Cartwright the justly suspected Bishop of Chester, who, as we learn from his diary printed by the Camden Society, admitted the visits of Bishop Labourne, Father Petre, and other Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, and was on terms of intimacy in 1687 with Sir Rowland Stanley, Mr. William Massey of Puddington (whose house was searched), Mr. Nathaniel Booth of Mottram, Mr. Standish, Sir William Gerard, Mr. Tildesley, Mr. Townley, and Sir James Poole. In September 1687 the Bishop nominated Peter Legh Esq. of Lyme, then a young man who had succeeded to the estate by the death of his father only three months before, to be a deputy lieutenant of the county of Chester, a distinction which, coming from such hands, possibly led to the charge which was subsequently made against Mr. Legh.

indiscretions, and, above all, their wealth, were well known to him, and seemed so many invitations to make victims of their owners.

He was by birth an Irishman, (Smollett, vol. ix. p. 53,) and from being originally a labourer at Highgate(1) he rose to be a coachman, then to be a licensed victualler at Westminster, whence, according to his own account, he was afterwards advanced to be one of King James's guards, and was to have a captain's commission in the intended rising. That his private character was bad we know from the records of the court in which he was tried for bigamy, and from other facts which transpired on the trials at Manchester.

The basis of his accusations was laid for him in the public proscription of the three Lancashire colonels. He had only judiciously to enlarge it, to include in it other persons of well known Jacobite leanings, and to spread his proofs over a long series of years, in the early and more recent portions of which the conduct and prospects of King James's friends were widely different, to make the story probable and its success almost certain. However prudent at a later period "when sorrow had tutored them to submission," many of the Lancashire men had not been so cautious in their conduct in the earlier period of the Revolution.

Another circumstance in an accuser's favour was the close alliance, forming a species of clanship, amongst the Lancashire gentry, to which allusion has been already made.

Out of these materials it was not difficult to frame a plot very pregnant with suspicion and very difficult to negative

(1) *Letter out of Lancashire* and *Letter to Sir John Trenchard.*

or rebut. To transport the public mind into one of its epidemic fits of credulity, and convert presumption into proof, it was only necessary, after the example of Oates in a past reign, to make assassination and murder a part of the design; and accordingly, the removal of King William by the hand of an assassin being infused as an ingredient of the charge, the Lancashire plot was made to involve the accused in the twofold design of restoring King James and assassinating his rival.

The latter portion of this design will require but few observations. Sufficient has already been shown to acquit not only the prisoners tried at Manchester, but the Lancashire gentlemen in general, of any share or privity in so foul and atrocious a design. True or false, no Lancashire name appeared at the time in connexion with it, and nothing has occurred since to revive or alter that part of the charge.

That portion of the design which relates to the bringing back and reinstating of King James on the throne was made to depend on a series of transactions extending from 1689 to 1694 — a long period of five years. In the early part of this time, every presumption was against the Lancashire gentlemen; but, after the defeat of the French fleet off La Hogue, and the destruction of the armament destined to invade England on the 20th May 1692, the star of the House of Orange, fast mounting to the zenith, shed evil influence on the cause of King James. His prospects of success now seemed remote. The ardour of his Lancashire adherents cooled, and they relaxed in their exertions when it was seen that they were likely to be futile. Many persons regarded

the change as calling upon them to return to the duty which they owed their country under its altered circumstances, and were effectually detached from their former party. There were others who, however they might desire the return of King James, thought it better to submit to the time and to breathe their regrets in silence; and thought is not treason though it may be sin!

The Tildesleys, the Townleys, the Standishes, and the Dicconsons, more sanguine than wise, cherished their old attachments and did not affect to disguise them; but even they seem to have bowed to the blast, and resolved to wait the return of better times. The heads of the first two houses were in the list of the proscribed and were at this time abroad, and all of them were under the Argus eyes of the government; and it is not credible, though they looked towards St. Germains rather than St. James's, that they could as a body at this time have been successfully engaged in a plot against the government, or that they could individually have been guilty of treason without the certainty of immediate detection.

At a later period, at least one member of each of these families, and in some instances several, were found heroically risking life and property in the cause of King James, for which, while we honour their consistency, we may regret that it was not exercised in a nobler cause.

But we must not take a general presumption for a particular proof. We should see that the charge against the accused is not only borne out by facts, but that these are supported by sufficient evidence, not merely at the com-

mencement, but throughout the long period of the plot; that, if it ever existed, the plot was a continuing and still meditated design at the time of Mr. Lunt's disclosures. It will not suffice that the charge rests on the statement of Mr. Lunt and his associates. The evidence of these accomplices and approvers must be confirmed by independent testimony over the whole period to which they depose.

But, do we find this to be so? Quite the contrary; for, except the evidence already mentioned, and except the apocryphal letter found in Crosby's rooms signed J. Mucklethwaite, and dated March 28th 1694, and ascribed to a Molyneux, by which I suppose is meant Lord Molyneux, and which letter, even if genuine, implicates no person but the writer, we look in vain through Mr. Kingston's pages for any evidence which inculpates the Lancashire gentlemen before Mr. Lunt's disclosures; and the trials afford a demonstration that, previous to 1692, the accusations rested on the evidence of Mr. Lunt and his accomplices, and after that time on his own unsupported testimony.

According to his own statement, Mr. Lunt acted a most conspicuous part amongst the Lancashire conspirators, and we should therefore expect to find him well known not only to the parties engaged in *their* plot, but in the other kindred plots of that prolific period, whether hatched in Lancashire or elsewhere. But we look in vain through the frequent state trials of the time for any mention of his name,(1) and

(1) The solicitor general, when an attempt was made on the trial of Rookwood to impeach the character of a witness for the crown, alluded to a similar attempt to impeach Mr. Lunt's evidence, on the ground of charac-

of all the numerous witnesses met with in that record who, from the Revolution until Mr. Lunt's disclosures, with so much eagerness and at such length depose to the persons engaged in treason, no one either mentions or alludes to him, or appears to have known him even by name. Col. Parker, who has been so often mentioned, is frequently in the mouths of De la Rue and the other witnesses, but never in connexion with the Lancashire gentlemen. Surely this silence is strong negative evidence in favour of these gentlemen and against their accuser.

The report now offered to the public of the trials of the eight gentlemen,(1) which commenced at Manchester on the 17th October 1694, affords additional means of testing the value of Mr. Lunt's evidence, and of showing whether it was supported in any material respect by testimony less open to objection than his own. Probably none of the writers whose opinions have been quoted had either seen the trials or read any reported account of them; certainly none of them alludes to any printed or published report. No edition of the *State Trials*, except the last, contains any allusion to the prisoners tried at Manchester. In that edition there occurs a brief and inexact allusion to the trials, with some historical opinions upon them; but there is no report of the trials themselves, and the names of three out of the eight prisoners, Lord Molyneux amongst the number, are wholly omitted in the notice.(2)

ter, during the trials at Manchester, the effect of which he seems to have mistaken; and this, I believe, is the only occasion on which Mr. Lunt's name is mentioned in the *State Trials*.

(1) The commencement of the trials will be found at page 48 *post*.

So far as it is known, no other publication supplies the omission which occurs in the *State Trials*, and the report now appearing, probably for the first time, under the auspices of the CHETHAM SOCIETY, will be found not only to be an instructive and suggestive memorial of an important period of history, but may help to dispel some clouds which have hitherto hung over the Lancashire plot. How far the evidence for the crown given on the trials satisfies the requirements before laid down as necessary to support the case, and if it does, how far our faith in it is shaken by the

(2) [See page lxxiv.] The following is the notice alluded to, *State Trials*, vol. xii. p. 1284, edit. 1812 —

In this same year 1694, occurred the trials for the Lancashire plot. I have not been able to obtain any full report of them, but have been favoured by Mr. Dealtry with the following minutes of the proceedings.

Oct. 7. 6 W. & M. A session of oyer and terminer was holden at Manchester before Sir Giles Eyre Knt. a justice of the court of king and queen's bench, Sir John Turton Knt. and Sir John Powell Knt. barons of the exchequer, and Sir Samuel Eyre Knt. another justice of the king and queen's bench, under a special commission to inquire of treasons &c.

At which session an indictment was found against Sir Rowland Stanley Bart., Sir Tho. Clifton Bart., William Dicconson Esq., Philip Langton Esq., and William Blundell gent., for high treason.

Oct. 17. They were tried before the same justices, and John Lunt was produced as a witness for the crown.

Hilary Term 6 W. 3.—Sir Edward Ward Knt., his majesty's attorney general, filed an information against the said John Lunt for perjury charged to have been committed on that trial.

Like information against John Wombell.

Like information against George Wilson.

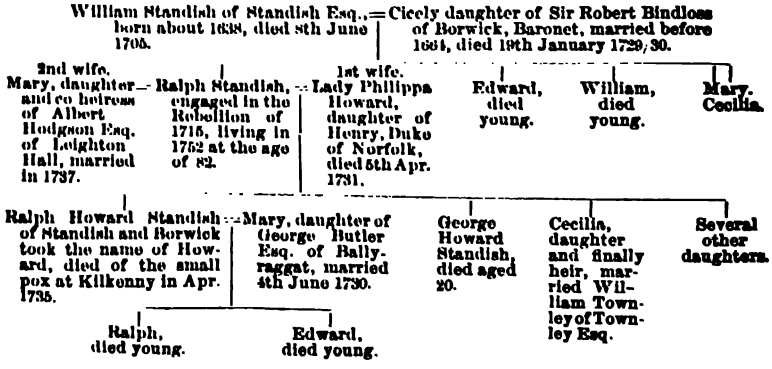
Michaelmas 7 W. 3. — Defendants having been convicted at the assizes, obtained rules for new trials, and

It was ordered that the rolls should be amended, by stating that the defendants came and pleaded in their proper persons instead of stating that they appeared by attorney.

variations, contrarieties, and inconsistencies which occur in it, and what is the effect of the direct contradictions with which it was met for the defence, the reader will be able to judge for himself. Probably he will rise from the perusal of Womball's evidence,(1) which relates almost wholly to events occurring between 1689 and 1692, and, if true, only affects Mr. Standish,(2) Mr. Townley, Sir Thomas Clifton, Mr. Dic-

(1) The report of his evidence on the trials is less full than his previous deposition, and differs from it in some particulars.

(2) William Standish Esq. of Standish is the person referred to by Dodsworth. He took a very active part in the defence of the Lancashire gentlemen, in consequence of which he would have been apprehended if he had not prevented it by a timely flight. — Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 100; Baines, vol. ii. p. 64. His son, Ralph Standish, is the person referred to by Dodsworth as Lieutenant Colonel Standish. Neither he nor Mr. John Dalton of Thurnham, another of the persons mentioned by Dodsworth, appears to have learnt discretion, for they were both tried and found guilty for joining the rebels in 1715. — Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 639. Mr. Ralph Standish married the Lady Philippa Howard, and lived to an extreme old age, but I have been unable to learn the exact date of his death. He was living in 1752. His son of both his names, who afterwards assumed the name of Howard from his mother, died before him. — Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 311. I subjoin a sketch of the pedigree of the Standishes at this time:



conson, and perhaps Mr. Walmsley, of whom only the three last were amongst the prisoners tried at Manchester, with a different estimate of its value from that formed by Bishop Burnet, and if he should be of opinion with the jury that the prisoners then on their trial were entitled to a verdict of "not guilty," he will probably think also that the Lancashire plot was entitled to a verdict of "not proven."

The manuscript from which this report has been printed is the property of JOHN JESSE Esq., formerly of Manchester but now of Llanidloes, to whom it was left as a legacy by a Manchester friend some years ago, and to whom the Society are under obligations for the use of it for the purposes of this publication. The manuscript, which is written in a plain law hand, appears to be a modern transcript made about thirty-five years ago from some earlier manuscript. No one who reads it will need any voucher for its authenticity, or entertain a moment's doubt that it was the pro-

It is matter of history that the Standishes have made sacrifices for religion not only in the Old World but in the New, and not only in the cause of Trent but of Geneva. Miles Standish of Duxbury was one of the "pilgrim fathers" who, quitting their homes for conscience sake and crossing the Atlantic in the celebrated May-flower, landed at Plymouth in New England, on 22nd December, 1620, and have ever since been esteemed the founders of that country. The house which he built in his transatlantic home was called Duxbury, after the seat of his ancestors in fatherland; and the site of the house, which was burnt down a few years ago, still retains that name. The American poet, Dr. Holmes, has introduced this stout old soldier in his *Lines on the loan of a punch bowl:* —

'Twas on a dreary winter eve, the night was closing dim,
When old Miles Standish took the bowl and drained it to the brim;
The little captain stood and stirred the posset with his sword,
And all his sturdy men at arms were ranged about the board.

duction of an eye witness of the trials, who, although entertaining a conviction of the falseness of the charge, has nevertheless told a fair and impartial story, with no more than the unavoidable tinge which the facts contracted from the medium through which they were viewed. At the end of his *Letter out of Lancashire*[1] Mr. Wagstaffe announced his intention to publish an account of the trials, and his manuscript, if ever prepared, may possibly have been the parent of this.

The papers which precede the trials occur in the same order in the manuscript, and have been retained for the light which they throw on the motives of the accusers of the Lancashire gentlemen. Like the trials, these papers contain internal evidence that they are genuine, and they are valuable for the accidental confirmation they afford to some of the evidence given for the prisoners at the trials. The charge which Mr. Taffe made against Captain Baker, that he had a direct interest in procuring the conviction of the prisoners, receives a corroboration from these papers, now for the first time made public.

(1) The letter is entitled, "A letter out of Lancashire to a friend in London, giving some account of the late trials there: together with some seasonable and proper remarks upon it, recommended to the wisdom of the lords and commons assembled in parliament. 1694." At the end of the letter is the following — "Advertisement. There will shortly be published a perfect and complete narrative of the whole proceedings both at Manchester and Chester." Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe, who was a Nonjuring clergyman, is noticed in Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* vol. xxx. p. 458, where there is an account of his works, which Mr. Crossley informs me is very incorrect. He was a stout defender of the authenticity of the Eikon Basilike. Amongst the Lancashire Nonjurors none was more influential than Mr. Wagstaffe, and he is noticed in Lathbury's history of that party.

There was in those days no Eldorado in the regions of the far west, or at the antipodes of our globe, to attract and absorb the greedy thirsters after gain, and the "auri *subita* fames" prompted this class of persons to seek after forfeited and concealed estates, with so little scruple about the means, as forced the indignant observer to exclaim in the words of the Roman satirist, and with more than his earnestness and passion —

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

There can be no plainer proof than these pages afford of the base motives that actuated Mr. Lunt and his associates, Womball the broken carrier and George Wilson the convicted cattle stealer — both of them fit inmates of his new cave of Adullam! For a time Mr. Lunt seems to have attained his end, since we find that from being originally employed as a labourer at twelvepence a day, his circumstances had so improved before the trials at Manchester that he was then habited like a general, had his footman to attend upon him, and was living at the rate of a thousand a year.(1)

On the eve of the trials of the Lancashire gentlemen, Robert Ferguson(2) published a pamphlet in their defence.

(1) Wagstaffe's *Letter out of Lancashire.*

(2) There is a short account of this person, with the titles of a few of his works, in Rose's *Biog. Dict.* and in Calamy's *Account of the Nonconformists.* He was originally a Scotch clergyman, and was intruded into the living of Godmersham in Kent during the Usurpation, but ejected in 1662. He afterwards cast off his profession and, throwing himself into the sea of politics, became not only a sharer in all the plots but one of the most active political writers of his day. He and the troubled times in which he lived seemed

It bore date the 4th October 1694, and was, we are told, in every one's hands at Manchester before the trials came on. Notwithstanding that its appearance was anonymous, which was probably owing to the notoriety of the writer, it was known to be the offspring of his pen; and if anything could

made for each other. He was an impersonation of the spirit of plots. He appears to have been deeply implicated in the Rye House plot, and was out with the Duke of Monmouth in 1685 and had a narrow escape of being taken. He used to boast that he had been a party in every plot that occurred subsequently to the Rye House plot. He went with Lord Shaftesbury to Holland after that nobleman's disgrace. That such a man should fall into many dangers was not singular, but that he escaped from them was wonderful. Writers of all parties have exhausted the vocabulary of ill names in their abuse of Mr. Ferguson. Mr. Newcome, as we learn from his *Autobiography*, was much horrified at a communication which Ferguson addressed to him in 1683, the year of the Rye House plot. He says on 28th August, "There came a letter by this post superscribed to me, but under an abusive title. I was not at home. The superscription induced the constable to open it, a wicked thing signed by Ferguson, a person I never had a letter from in my life, and know not his hand. But the constable seized it and kept it to shew the justices, and so I was delivered from this sham." Others were treated in the same way at this very time.

In 1688 Ferguson was rewarded for his services in the cause of liberty with the place of housekeeper to the excise, worth £500 a year.

In 1689 he engaged in Montgomery's Jacobite plot.

In 1690 he was arrested with Sir John Cochran, on suspicion of treasonable practices, but either out of regard to his former services, or for want of evidence, he was not prosecuted.

In 1692 he was imprisoned in Newgate.

In 1694 he undertook the defence of the Lancashire gentlemen.

In 1696 he was in Friend's plot, and was to have been an officer in his regiment, and to have been made a privy councillor if the plot had succeeded.

In 1703 he wrote a defence of Lord Lovat.

In 1704 the house of commons sent him to Newgate, and ordered Sir Edward Northey to prosecute him; but his usual good fortune attended

have ruined a good cause, the gentlemen tried at Manchester were in great danger from the advocacy of Robert Ferguson. But there is ever most energy with an assailant; and on the present occasion this veteran writer attacked the accusers of the Lancashire gentlemen with a vehemence to which the shield of Mr. Kingston, Dr. Abbadie, and the other defenders of the government opposed but a feeble resistance; and the whig historians of the time, in their chagrin at the result of the trials, ascribed it to the trenchant blade of Mr. Ferguson, with its fine temper and its poisoned edge, and the vigour with which it was wielded by his arm.(1)

him, and he escaped without punishment, which Mr. Oldmixon (vol. iii. p. 327) makes the subject of a complaint.

He died in poverty in 1714.

There is a much fuller account of Mr. Ferguson in *Blackwood's Magazine* for June, 1852, to which my attention has been drawn since the foregoing note was written.

(1) After inveighing in severe terms against some arbitrary proceedings of Mr. Aaron Smith the crown solicitor, Mr. Ferguson thus assails the ministry for what seems an unheard of interference with those who gave evidence for the accused:—

But why do I insist so much upon the unprecedented illegalities of Aaron Smith, when the very secretaries of state themselves, without regard to law, honour, justice, or humanity, seize and apprehend both men and women for no other offence alleged against them but that they discover what they know of the infamy of the witnesses, and take the methods which the laws have provided and chalked forth for bringing them to an accountableness for their crimes. And as the like was never practised under any of those reigns of which we did most complain, and as it appears since very unjustly, so it is worthy of our observation that when a pack of scandalous rascals had combined in the year 1681 to involve a great many Protestants in a conspiracy for seizing King Charles and for altering the government, yet no

The ministry of the day, says Mr. Smollett, by the disclosures made on the trials at Manchester "incurred a heavy load of popular odium as the authors or abettors of knavish contrivances to ensnare the innocent," and it was feared that the result might weaken the already feeble knees of the new

one was molested either for detecting the forgery of that plot or for laying open and exposing the crimes, villanies, and perjuries of those who were then styled the king's evidences. Yea, when three several discourses, all of them bearing the title of "No Protestant Plot," were printed and published in vindication of the innocency of those that were suspected, as well as of those that were apprehended and imprisoned, and for detecting the scandalousness and legal improbity of the evidences, and withal the piquancy which the author of those discourses had either spirit or language to season them with, yet they were not only read by every man with safety, but openly sold by most stationers about London without animadversion or control. Nor can any age parallel such a commitment or furnish us with a warrant of the tenor of that issued out by the present secretaries upon this occasion, whereof I shall subjoin a copy, that this generation may see their misery, and the next laugh at our folly. Namely (after words of course in all warrants) *That they should apprehend and bring before them the persons of ——— together with their papers, for conspiring and endeavouring to suborn witnesses against the lives and credit of several witnesses for their majesties against persons charged with high treason &c.* Which looks like a summoning all the malefactors of the several gaols of the kingdom to come in and list themselves witnesses for the government, with assurance not only of protection and rewards, but that they shall have the satisfaction and pleasure to see those imprisoned and punished that shall dare to prosecute them for their crimes, though they should be murders and burglaries as well as felonies. Were not the matter before me too open to be exposed, as well as it is tempting to render me severe beyond my temper and inclinations, I would add more upon this theme. But though nothing can be rude and much less piquant enough against those that have had the indiscretion if not the malice to issue out a warrant of this nature, yet I will so far both restrain my passions and regulate my heat as only calmly to expostulate the matter in one word: Have the rescuing of our laws and the vin-

government. To justify themselves against the outcry that was raised, they brought the matter before parliament in the following session; and the depositions of ten supplementary witnesses, all, we presume, that were produced, are preserved to us in the pages of Mr. Kingston.(1) These depositions,

dicating of our liberties, which were the real causes of the Prince of Orange's descent into England, and the great motives to the late Revolution, resulted in this — that we have neither laws nor liberties left us, but that we must stand with our mouths shut and our hands bound till our lives be destroyed and our estates forfeited upon the perjuries of the most notorious as well as heinous villains that ever the earth bare? And let me tell you, that we think it much more eligible to command the Dutch dragoons to cut our throats (if they can) than that a design should be carried on and thus countenanced of murdering us by forms of law. For as in the one case we should be sure to sell our lives ere we lost them, and, should we miscarry in our own defence, would hope to die not only pitied but expect to have our deaths revenged; whereas in the other, we fall with disgrace, and there are few have the honour, zeal, and generosity to resent the wrong and injustice that are done us. Yet it may be that when *proximus ardet Ucalegon*, every man will be alarmed, and that the methods which render *quilibet homo reus* may in a little time make *omnis homo miles*. And as I am very well assured that by the course which is taken to destroy some all men are threatened, so I do not know but that the common hazard may run the nation upon a defence as universal as the danger is.

(1) Mr. Kingston was an indefatigable pamphleteer on various subjects from 1690 to 1710. Besides the history so often alluded to and numerous other works, he wrote an Answer to Captain Smith's *Memoirs of Secret Service*, and a *Rejoinder to Captain Smith*, both published in 8vo in 1700; *Apothegmata Curiosa, or Reflections, Sentences, and Maxims*, 1709; and two tracts against the French prophets, which (according to Mr. Crossley, to whom I owe the particulars of this note) afford the best account extant of those enthusiasts. Mr. Kingston is charged by Ferguson (*Letter to Sir J. Trenchard*) with being sent into Lancashire and Cheshire, sometimes in the character of a parson, sometimes of a physician, and sometimes of a discarded Jacobite officer, with instructions to speak of a conspiracy

with the addition of a few notes upon them, are reprinted in the Appendix to the present work, and the reader will be able to judge how far they alter or affect the case made out on the trials at Manchester. None of the new witnesses were persons of any mark, some of them were of questionable character, and nearly the whole of them speak only of events which occurred in or previous to 1691. When the power of the government to evoke evil spirits is considered, it is a circumstance to their credit that they produced no other witnesses, whilst the fact that the witnesses were neither more numerous nor of a higher or different rank affords negative evidence in favour of the innocence of the accused.

After hearing these witnesses, however, the House of Commons, by a vote of 133 to 97 resolved that there were grounds for the prosecution of the gentlemen at Manchester, and that upon the informations and examinations before the House it did appear that there was a dangerous plot carried on against the King and his government; and the House of Lords afterwards adopted a similar resolution.

This resolution, it will be observed, is so worded as to avoid expressly affirming the existence of the Lancashire plot, and its vagueness succeeded in securing for it the votes of those members who believed, and justly believed, in the existence of some plots against the government, as well as of those timid members who were afraid to weaken or discou-

against the government in such terms as should induce the unwary not only to give him a favourable hearing, but, if possible, to speak as favourably of it, and thereby draw these very persons within the suspicion of being accomplices.

rage the government by expressing a disbelief in any. The resolution was in fact only a mild way of expressing confidence in the ministry, and proved little else than that parliament, with its party and private influences, was a less impartial tribunal than a court and jury.

But, notwithstanding this resolution, the Lancashire gentlemen at the ensuing Lancaster assizes prosecuted Lunt, Womball, and George Wilson, the three principal witnesses who had given evidence against them on the trials at Manchester, and they were all convicted of perjury. The same three witnesses were also indicted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the Lancashire gentlemen; and they would probably have been convicted on this charge also, had not the prosecutors thought fit to let the proceedings drop, from a conviction that the government, though they had been duped, and were willing to retreat but not to own a defeat, were determined to support Mr. Lunt, and from a not unfounded fear that revenge might be taken on some of the witnesses whom it might be necessary to call in support of the prosecution. On this latter charge, therefore, no evidence was offered, and the three prisoners having been at length discharged, we have this song of triumph from Dr. Abbadie (p. 73): "Thus the artifices of the plotters were at last defeated, and truth prevailed over the power and treachery of its enemies. The discoverers of the plot asserted their innocency by the testimony of forty new witnesses, the Lancashire gentlemen could not prove their allegations, and those who were guilty of no other crime than endeavouring to serve the government were sent away with a suitable recompence."

The forty "men in buckram" appear nowhere but in the pages of the court scribe, and their existence may be treated as the flourish of a party writer intended to cover a retreat. The latter portion of his *pæan*, however, proves itself; for reward, and reward only, had been the motive of Mr. Lunt and his myrmidons.

The acquittal of the Lancashire gentlemen still rankled in the breast of the ministry,(1) notwithstanding the assurance they had derived from their parliamentary resolution. They took care that no public record of the proceedings was preserved, and they probably suppressed, if it ever appeared, any printed report of the trials. They felt that they had been duped, and they would willingly, if they could, have waived off into oblivion all memory of the event with an

Excidat illa dies ævo!

But the wish for oblivion was futile; and as ghosts are said to revisit the glimpses of the moon to reveal actions which their perpetrators hoped had been buried for ever, so the resurrection of this report of the trials at Manchester, after so long an interval, is a proof that the Lancashire plot is one of those stories that history will not willingly let die.

Mr. Lunt retreated to his hiding place, and was seen or heard of no more after his final discharge at Lancaster. He

(1) Mr. Wagstaffe asserts in his *Letter out of Lancashire* that warrants for the execution of the prisoners were signed, and that directions were actually given that they should be executed three days after the prisoners should be found guilty! If this statement be true, one can easily understand the extent of the prosecutors' mortification when the accused were acquitted!

had repeated as a vaunt the question of that former braggart created by our immortal bard, not doubting that it would receive a triumphant answer —

> Who cannot be crushed with a plot?

and when infamy had recoiled upon him in overflowing measure, we may imagine him slinking back into his native obscurity with the words of Parolles on his lips —

> Yet I am thankful: if my heart were great,
> 'Twould burst at this: captain I'll be no more;
> But I will eat and drink and sleep as soft
> As captain shall: simply the thing I am
> Shall make me live.

Upon the accession of Edward IV., the period referred to by Mr. Hume, when the crown was forcibly transferred to the brows of a new monarch, peace was to be secured to the new wearer by the means which Tarquin taught his son in the allegory—"ense recidendum est;" but, in the times of the Lancashire plot, law must do the work which in an age less civilised belonged to the sword; and although in the days of William III. the blade of old father antic the law had still its edge always turned towards a prisoner, we have seen that its stroke was sometimes averted by a good cause and an English jury.

The prisoners tried at Manchester had to struggle against many difficulties which do not now stand in the way of such as are accused of treason. At that time there was no statute limiting the period within which the crime must be alleged to have been committed, and hence the long series of

years over which the charge against the Lancashire gentlemen was allowed to spread; and although two witnesses were required to prove the treason, there was great laxity in interpreting this restriction. Moreover the number and names of the crown witnesses were carefully withheld from the accused, and he was neither allowed to see them or know their names until they were confronted with him in court; while on the other hand he had no process to compel witnesses to appear for him on the trial, and such as did so either came forward voluntarily and of their own accord, or were induced to do so at the solicitation of the prisoner's friends. At the trial, but not before, the indictment was read to him, but he was not allowed to be furnished with a copy of it. The most eminent lawyers of the day were generally arrayed against him, whilst he was not allowed to make his defence even by a single counsel, but wa sobliged, in his hour of greatest need, to rely upon himself, and to exert such skill as a man struggling under a suspended sword could command. He never knew the panel of jurors who were to pronounce on his life or death until he heard their names in court. His challenges, therefore, to such of them as he thought fit to except against, were almost necessarily made in ignorance or under circumstances of peculiar disadvantage. He might not know the persons in the panel even by name, whilst they on the contrary might be known partisans of the crown, or perhaps notoriously prejudiced against the prisoner.

Within a few short months from the trials at Manchester, all these disadvantages were removed by the statute of 7 William III. c. 3, which, with its subsequent amendments,

enacted, *firstly*, that no person should be tried for any treason except an attempt to assassinate the king, unless the indictment were found within three years next after the offence committed; *secondly*, that the prisoner should have a copy of the indictment ten days before the trial, and that no evidence should be offered upon it of any overt act not named in it; *thirdly*, that he should also have a copy of the panel of the jurors, with their professions and places of abode, and a list of all the witnesses, delivered to him ten days before the trial; *fourthly*, that he should have the same compulsive process to bring in his witnesses for him as was usual to compel their appearance against him; and *lastly*, that he should be admitted to make his defence by such counsel not exceeding two as he should desire, who were immediately to be assigned to him by the court, and who were to have free access to him at all seasonable hours.

These ameliorations in the administration of the law in cases of high treason, if they were not actually the result of the proceedings against the eight prisoners tried at Manchester, were certainly accelerated by them.(1) It was impossible in that age that public attention could be attracted to those proceedings without the public becoming excited by the hardship of the law as it then stood, or without leading to some effort to amend it. These alterations, therefore, were forced upon the legislature by enlightened public opinion, and another irruption of the reptile brood of spies and informers—which Heaven avert!—will at least find their

(1) There had been an unsuccessful attempt to remedy some of the hardships of the law of treason in 1692. — Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 67.

victims better prepared to repel the charge of any future Lancashire plot. While, therefore, we wonder and rejoice that the machinations against the Lancashire gentlemen were so signally defeated, we ought not to forget, in our satisfaction at their escape, THAT WE OWE, IN SOME MEASURE, THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH HAVE SINCE TAKEN PLACE IN THE LAW OF TREASON TO THE JEOPARDY OF THEIR LIVES IN WHICH THE EIGHT GENTLEMEN WERE PLACED BY THE TRIALS AT MANCHESTER IN MDCXCIV.

THE

JACOBITE TRIALS

AT MANCHESTER IN

1694.

TRIALS AT MANCHESTER,

ETC.

Monday Morning, Feb. 27, 1692.

Present { Sir S. F. [Sir Stephen Fox.]
Sir Q. S. [Sir Ed. Seymour?][1]
C. M. Esq. [Chas. Montagu, Esq., afterwards Earl of Halifax.]

27th Feby. 1692. An order was made by the Lords of y^e^ Treasury reciting that if Mr. Peter Stepkins, Mr. Peter Godard, and Mr. Nich. Hall woud undertake at their own costs and charge by law to discover and make out their Majesty's title to recover lands, tenements, & sums of money within the Kingdom of England given to superstitious uses, the said Undertakers sho^d^ after such title made out have one full third part thereof to their own use.

6 March, 1692. By Articles reciting the said order it was agreed that Stepkins and Godard sho^d^ bear the charge of prosecution, that the third part of the lands and monies by the said order intended to be granted to Stepkins, Goddard, & Hall, sho^d^ be divided into three equall

(1) Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 69, says Sir Edward Seymour was one of those that voted against making their majesties king and queen.

shares, one for Stepkins, another for Goddard, and the third Share for Hall, who was thereby declared to be a trustee as to such third part for Sir Jn° Guyse and Sir Scroop Howe.

9 March, 1692. By other articles made between Stepkins, Goddard, and Hall of the one part, and William Wybrants on the other part, reciting that a commission under the great Seal was about to issue out to enquire of Lands, Moneys, and other effects given to the superstitious uses aforesaid in the county of Lancaster, it was agreed that, within one year after Stepkins, Goddard, and Hall sho^d have recovered any such Lands or Monies as aforesaid, and sho^d have obtained a grant of a third part thereof, the said Stepkins, Goddard, and Hall sho^d pay thereout to Wybrants £10 for every £100 in moneys so granted, and £100 for every £100 Lands per annum, that Wybrants(1) sho^d have a Mortgage of such Lands for his Security, and that he sho^d bear all the expenses of executing the Commissions except the Commissioners' Salary.

23 March, 1692. A Commission under the great Seal was awarded to Sir Willoughby Aston,(2) Sir John Mainwaring, and Mr. Norris,(3) &c.

4 May, 1693. An inquisition was thereupon taken before the said commissioners at Warrington in Lancashire, and it was thereby found that

The Lord Molineux being seized in fee of Lands in Euxton burgh in the countty of Lanc^r had conveyed the same to Andrew Poulton,(4) superior of the Jesuists College at St. Omers, and others,

(1) Oldmixon introduces this person as one Wybrand to whom Taaffe applied himself in order by his means to gain access to Mr. Legh of Lyme, who was then in prison for the conspiracy. — (Vol. ii. p. 99.) It was he who swore that Taaffe's name was Tho. O'Mullen. — *True Hist.* by R. K., pp. 306, 307.

(2) Sir Willoughby Aston of Aston died in 1702. His monument, which is in Aston Chapel, records his interment at that place, and mentions that he had a family of eight sons and thirteen daughters.

(3) Probably Thomas Norres of Speke, who was M.P. for Liverpool, Sheriff of Lancashire in 1696, and who had married Magdalen, the daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston, in the preceding year.

(4) Andrew Poulton was admitted of the Society of Jesus October 31 1674, and died at St. Germains August 5 1710, æt. 56. King James selected him in 1687 for one of the Masters of the Savoy College, and at the Revolution, he retired with the

and that the said Poulton and others were seized thereof to the value of £100 per annum; that Will^m Standish Esq. had conveyed to Father Fortescue,(1) for the use of the Franciscan Fryers, lands in Woolston worth £100 per an. in order to secure a debt of £1200; that Tho^s Eccleston Esq. had conveyed to the s^d Father Poulton his lands in Eccleston to the val. of £300 p. an. to the use of the Jesuists at St. Omers; that Sir Nich: Sherborne had conveyed to John Leybourn(2) his lands called the Lawns in the parish of Chipping in the co. of Lanc^r for the mainten^ce of secular priests of the Ch. of Rome; that Will^m Dickonson Esq. had conveyed unto John Leybourn and his heirs lands in Wrightington in the cou. of Lanc^r of the yearly value of £300, for the maintenance of secular Priests of the Church of Rome; that Sir Will^m Gerrard had enfeoffed Andrew Poulton and others of lands in Garswood and Ashton to secure the payment of £100 per annum and £300 in money to build and adorn a Colledge in the parishe of Wigan in the Com. of Lanc^r; and that Tho^s Gerard Esq. had in his hands £300 towards building a convent at Wigan for brothers of the order of Franciscans of the Church of Rome.

This inquisition being returned

A bill was exhibited in the Exch^r Chamb^r } Atty Gen^l Pl { L^d Molineux, W^m Standish, Tho^s Eccleston, W^m Diconson, S^r Nich: Sherborne, S^r W^m Gerrard & Tho^s Gerrard } Deft^s

Court to France. He was the author of several controversial works, and had a high reputation for sanctity and zeal. — Oliver's *Eng. Jesuits*, p. 174.

(1) Francis Fortescue, (sometimes called Stanley,) after studying Rhetoric at St. Omers, was admitted a novice at Watten, and made the simple vows 8th September 1684. — Oliver's *Eng. Jes.*

(2) He was consecrated, at Rome, Bishop of Adrumetum, and invested with the title and power of Vicar Apostolic. He arrived in England towards the end of

The bill set forth the inquisition and all thereby found, and that the commissioners had seized all those forfeited estates into their Majesties' hands, notwithstanding which the rents, issues, and profits were still applied to the several superstitious uses afs^{d}. That some to whom the conveyances had been made were Aliens and Enemies to their Majesties, residing in the French King's dominions, and that the defendants were seized of other estates elsewhere to several superstitious uses, which ought to be forfeited to their Majesties, and prayed a discovery thereof to the end that their Majesties might be put in possession of the premises.

The Defendants by their answer said they believed that there had been an inquisition, but that it was taken without their knowledge, and they severally denied the matters in the bill mentioned.

The Lord Molineux denied that he had ever conveyed Euxton burgh to any such persons or uses, or that the profits thereof were ever paid to such uses as are ment^{d} in the bill.

The other Defendants in their several answers positively denied the things charged against them by the bill.

The Replication averred the truth of the bill.

The Plaintiff's proofs against L^{d} Molineux were, That there was a synod or meeting of the Romish Clergy holden at the Pope's Nuncio's in Warwick S^{t} in May 1686 (but it was afterw^{ds} sworn to have been in 1689).

That the L^{d} Molineux being there present did declare that his Ancestors did usually pay for the maintenance of the English Jesuists £100 per annum according to his Lordship's agreem^{t} with S^{r} Tho^{s} Preston,(1) and that for the security of that £100 a year

1685, and had an apartment assigned him in St. James's Palace. He appears from the *Norris Papers* (p. 20) to have visited Liverpool in 1687. Leybourn resided in London, and was Vicar Apostolic for the South district. On the Revolution he was put in confinement, but was released on giving an assurance of peaceable conduct. In June 1690 he and Bishop Gifford were both brought up on a habeas corpus, and soon afterwards discharged on bail.—See *Notes and Queries*, Sept. 25 1852, pp. 297, 298 ; *State Trials*, vol. xii. p. 1240, edit. 1812.

(1) Sir Thomas Preston, of the Manor, in Furness, was the son and ultimately the heir of that Sir John Preston who on the 1st of April 1644 was created a baro-

his L^d^ship did then and there execute a deed of Mortgage of all his Lands in Euxton burg in Lancashire, conveying them to Father Poulton, the Superior of the Jesuists' College at St. Omers, for the use of the Jesuists there; that the deed was openly there read, and Bishop Leybourn, Father Jacob and others were witnesses to it.

Proofs and Observations against the Proofs.

The L^d^ Molineux in his answer swore that he never executed any such deed to Father Poulton or any other person to any such uses.

2^nd^ That he knew of no such payment by his ancestors as £100 a year to the use of the Jesuists, nor is it reasonable to believe it, for they were all Protestants, himself being the first Papist of the fam. on the father's side.

3^dly^ That as to the lands at Euxton burgh being found to be worth £100 per annum, they would be no good security for £100 per annum if they were worth the sum stated, but in truth the old rents in Euxton burgh were not above £40 a year in the whole, which was far short of such value as the plaintiffs premised.

4^thly^ That no part of the rents of Euxton burgh were at that time in his Lordship's power to convey, for that on the 24 of Jan^y^ 1671, which is 5 or 6 years before the plaintiff's proofes suppose a settlement of those lands in Euxton burgh, they were settled upon his eldest son at his marriage with the Lord Powis's daughter,

net for his loyalty to Charles I., and who died of the wounds he had received in the King's service. Sir Thomas succeeded to the title and estates on the death of his elder brother, and the baronetcy expired on his own death on 27th May 1709. He married for his second wife Mary, the daughter of Viscount Molyneux, and upon her death and the loss of his only son in 1672, he retired to Flanders, and seeking solace in religion, he embraced the institute of St. Ignatius, and was enrolled among the novices at Watten on 28th June 1674, but he never took holy orders, and was merely a lay brother at the time of his death. He is said to have been an eccentric man, and to have been never fully trusted by the Society. — West's *History of Furness*, and Oliver's *Account of the English Jesuits*.

and that his Lordship had never since received any profits therefrom.

5th But for the more positive proof of the falsity of this, there were many persons who were and are constantly attending uppon the Ld Molineux that wod prove that neither in the year 1686 nor ever since was his Lordship at or near London, and consequently that he could not be at the Synod then holden at the house of the Pope's Nuncio in Warwick St, nor there make any such Declarn nor execute any such Deed.

That at the sd assembly Wm Standish Esq. did declare that he was indebted to the Franciscan Fryars at Douay £1200, £800 lent by the Fryers to his Father, and £400 left by his father as a donation to them; that the said William Standish then and there mortgaged his lands at Woolston in Lancashire for the said £800, and out of the same lands secured the £400 Donn by deed made to Father Fortescue, the agent for the said Fryers, for the use of the English Franciscan Fryers at Douay — and that Bishop Leybourn and father Jacob were witnesses to the deed.

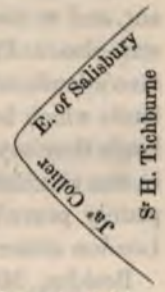
To disprove this, it is answered that

At the marriage of the said Mr Standish, his father and himself so settled their estate that for many years before the holding of the said Synod it was out of their power to make any such new Settlement as the plaintiff's proofs go to; that at the time of the said Synod the said William Standish was not the owner of that estate at Woolston as it came not to him until his mother's death some years after, that he could not yet make such an estate, for he is but tenant for life; and that besides this, Mr Standish was well able to prove that he was not at or near London in any part of the year 1686, which is the time they swear him to have made this conveyance at the Pope's Nuncio's house in Warwick Street; that

Thos Eccleston Esq. did at the said assembly confess that his estate in Eccleston in Lancashire was charged with £300 per ann: for ever to be paid to the Jesuists at St Omers, and did there pro-

duce a deed made to Father Poulton whereby he secured £400 per ann: to the Jesuists to pray for the souls of him and his posterity; that this deed was then and there executed and witnessed by Bishop Leybourn and others, and entered in their register.

The falsity of this charge may be plainly proved in all its particulars, but it will be proved once for all that in March 1685-6 Mr Eccleston was in France, and went thence with the Lord Castlemain to Rome, and continued with him there till June 1687.



Sr Nichs Sherburne. No witnesses were examined against him, for the said Sr Nicholas had not any right to the several Messuages in the bill mentioned or any part thereof until the death of his elder brother, who died 2 or 3 years after the time Sr Nicholas is charg'd to have convey'd those lands in the parish of Chipping.

The next proofs were, that

Hugh Dicconson Esq. since dead — did at the said Assembly declare that he purchased an estate of £300 pr annum at Wrightington in the Com. of Lancr for the use of the secular Priests at Douay, which estate as they swore he then and there conveyed to the said Bishop Leybourn for ever. To the Intent that they should pray for the souls of him and his posterity, and their witness stated that he saw the said deed executed, and that Father Jacob, Father Mansell, and several others were witnesses to the same, and that there was a memorandum of the said deed entered in the Register book. That Mr. Dowbell in his Closet shewed a List of the Revenues of the Romish Clergy in England, and that amongst those of the county of Lancr it was notified that one Mr Dicconson had bought lands for the Priests at Douay, and had received £500 for that purpose.

Against the truth of these proofs —

It is commonly known that the Defendant Mr Dicconson's lands in Wrightington did not come to that family by purchase, but were settled upon the said Hugh Dicconson Esq. by Sir Edward Wrightington his Uncle, who lived all his life time a firm Protestant, and so died 40 years ago, and at that time the sd Mr Dicconson was also a Protestant. The Plaintiff's proofs go to find other men's lands which they swear as Mr Dicconson's, his neighbours' lands which he never had or pretended to have right to, and these lands they say he gave to superstitious purposes; they swear that in the year 1686 he executed that deed at London, but it is very plainly proved against *that* that Mr Dicconson was not at or near London either in that year or ever since.

Besides, Mr Hugh Dicconson 14 years ago, on his son's marre, and 7 years before that Synod, in consideration of £4000 portion settled all his lands in Wrightington, so that he was then no more than tenant for life of any part of those lands; besides which he had built a house uppon the premises which cost him not less than £2000, so that the Priests cod never pray enough for his soul nor for the patience of his posterity if all this was done for them.

One parcel of land which the plaintiff's proofs go to was a small tenement of Ralph Woodward's in Shevington, which they say he conveyed seven years ago, while in truth it was only bought several years after that time.

Their next proof was that —

Sr Willm Gerard being at the sd Synod did then and there receive from Father Peters(1) a bill for £3000 upon one Delaware for the use of ye Jesuists at Wigan, being the Queen's gift.

(1) Father Edward Petre, the person mentioned in Oliver's *Account of the English Jesuits*, according to which he was sworn of the Privy Council of James II. at Whitehall Nov. 11th 1687, and recommended about the same time to the Pope for a Cardinal's hat. He generally passed in England by the name of Spenser. In 1693 he was appointed Rector of St. Omers, and died at Watten 15th May 1699. — (p. 163.) He was one of the persons excepted in the act of indemnity passed in 1690.

S^r William in his answer upon oath denied this, and it will be fully proved that S^r William was not at or near London in any part of that year when they swear that the Synod was holden in Warwick Street.

Tho^s Gerard Esq. The proofs against him were but hearsays, and he under such circumstances as he durst not personally appear to make his defence.

Publication passed in the cause, but what opinion the King's Att^y Gen^l had of the proofs may be guessed at in that he hath never yet thought fit to bring the cause to hearing.

Shares of Stepkins' 3^d part	The Lord Monmouth gave him for a moiety	£500
	M^r Goddard gave him for a 6^th part of the other moyety.....	200
	M^r Dockwray for another 6^th part of that moyety.	200
	Capt^n Baker,(1) for introducing M^r Stepkins to the L^d Monmouth, had to his own use gratis a moyety of the Remainder	50
Out of all their shares	M^r Wybrants, according to the articles before mentioned, was to have for every £100 in money	10
	And for every £100 p^r annum of lands recovered he was to have in money	100

(1) The same whom Taaffe complained of to Wybrants. His having a share in the recovery of concealed estates neither increases our respect for his character nor adds to the value of the testimony which he gave as a witness on the trials at Manchester. Ferguson says Mr. Tildesley, one of the Lancashire gentry, was robbed of a purse of gold by Captain Baker and his Dutch coadjutors; and that Captain Baker was one of the principal procurers and suborners of witnesses in support of the Scotch plot. — *Letter to Sir John Trenchard.*

Mr Lutwich, who was Clerk to the Commissioners at the taking of these inquisitions, was promised for his Share..... ... } 108th part

This which is thus in short set down may suffice to shew a new and unprecedented method of Merchant adventuring, an unwonted way of a Stockjobbing traffic for estates, whilst but hoped for; whether it was buying hope at a price, or counting chickens in the shell, or whatever it was, the prosecutions occasioned by it were not only very chargeable to some of the purchasers, but very troublesome to the Gentlemen prosecuted.

There were many diversely interested Persons, and such a diversity of shares, as that one was to have an hundred and eighth of another's third part. And the pretext was plausible — to obtain lands or monies appropriated to superstitious uses; yet the manner of the ministers' passing or promising away such forfeitures as is before set forth was supplicatorily bewayl'd as illegal; as by the ensuing petition prepared to be presented is set forth.

To the Right honorl the Lords Commissioners of their Majestys' Treasury.

Whereas upon suggestion of some persons to your Lordships that there were diverse Lands, Tenements, and sums of money in England and Wales heretofore given and appropriated to unlawful and superstitious uses, and by the laws of this Realm they were forfeited to the Crown, your Lordships thought fit on behalf of their Majesties to grant authority to them (or some others) to prosecute for the same, whereupon two Commissions of Enquiry have been executed, and several lands and sums of money thereby found (and inquisitions accordingly returned) in the Counties of Lancaster and York by the evidence of three witnesses; but forasmuch as we doubt not but to prove to yr Lordships that those witnesses have been suborned with the sum of £550 for giving their Testimony in the premises, and that they swear for a further

reward of £10 out of every £100 in money and £100 out of every £100 p^{r} annum in Land which should be recovered by virtue of their oaths, which will appear by certain articles made on that behalf; and for that we are advised by Counsell that this method of proceeding is not warrantable by Law, therefore that their Majesties' subjects be no longer vexed nor your Lordships further imposed upon in this matter, we hope your Lordships will take upon you the examination thereof to the end no further countenance may be continued to persons of such undue practices, which (this assertion being made good) will be very inconsistent with the justice and usage of this honourable board.

If the petitioners from the order and Articles before recited had cause to complain of an undue procedure, the listing of witnesses and the pains that were afterwards taken against them gave them great reason in defence of their estates to enquire (amongst other things) who, and of what repute those witnesses were. And afterwards indeed (in defence of their lives) it proved fortunate for them that they had their Characters, some of which, had the witnesses had as much knowledge what to swear for the purpose, as they had front to swear home, the cause might probably have soon been brought to hearing. But if their aims therein were disappointed, it was but so much labour lost. They must go a new way to work — to swear such things as wou'd maintain an impeachment of those Gentlemen whose estates they had before been prosecuting for, and to bring them and others to tryal as capitally criminall. And this way wou'd and did augment their numbers by taking in Protestants as well as Papists, and was in prospect a readier way to make sure of all the Gentlemen's estates whom they swear against. And thus the informers, with informations elaborately compiled against above 100^{d} persons, and so cautiously composed as not to tye up or exclude them from additional accusations of persons whom they might find and be able to name and

set forth when they come to their papers, untill they had gone thro' the body of the nation, were brought before S^r^ Jn^o^ Trenchard one of the then principal Secretarys of State, and severally sworn to their Informations, viz: —

The Information of John Lunt Gentleman.

27 June, 1694. This informant upon oath saith that when King James left the Kingdom upon the arrival of the Prince of Orange, in the year 1688, he, this informant, then went immediately after him into France, and at his arrival at S^t^ Germains was introduced to kiss his (the said King James's) hand in his Closet by the Lords Thomas and George Howard; that from thence he was about the beginning of March then next following ordered with the rest of his Guards to go to Dublin, that immediately upon his arrival there about the latter end of May 1689, one D^r^ Bromfield(1) came there also from England,

[*The Information of Mr. John Lunt, given the 15th day of June,* 1694.

Printed from the *True History*, by R. K. p. 287.

This Informant upon his oath saith, that when King James left the Kingdom upon the arrival of the Prince of Orange, in the year 1688, he this Informant went then immediately after him into France, and upon his arrival at St. Germains, was introduced to kiss his (the said King James's) Hand in his Closet, by the Lords Thomas and George Howard, that from thence he was about the beginning of March then next following, ordered with the rest of his Guards, to go for Dublin, that immediately upon his Arrival there about the latter end of May 1689, one Dr. Bromfeild came there also from England,

(1) In the *True History* by R. K., it is said (p. 3) that Bromfield was only a pretended Quaker, but so dexterous and bold a counterfeit that he was able to personate the disciple of any sect. Penn had brought the Quaker character into favour with the royalists, and this probably was the reason that Bromfield put on their garb. In his printed examination, Lunt, as will be seen, brings in Penn, whom he calls "Mr. Pen the quaker."

expecting to meet his Majesty, and brought with him an account of the condition and readyness of his friends the Papists and Jacobites there, but more particularly in London, Sussex, and Kent, and in Staffordshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and from them all desiring his Majesty's commissions for the several persons of quality hereafter named, with blanks for their inferior Officers, which accordingly his Majesty forthwith caused to be issued forth both in England and Scotland. And because Bromfield was so well known and it might be dangerous for him to come back himself, he desired the king to advise of a proper person or persons whom he might trust to bring them over and distribute them here in England according to his Majesty's orders; amongst others he this informant was recommended to him by my Lord Thomas Howard, who told him (the said King James) he wou'd engage life for life for him this informant that he would not betray him in the service, and that if he were taken would rather die on the Spot &c. Upon which this Informant was sent for to my

expecting to meet his Majesty, and brought over with him an Account of the Condition and Readiness of his Friends the Papists and Jacobites there, but more particularly in London, Sussex, and Kent, and in Staffordshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and from them all desired of his Majesty Commissions for the several Persons of Quality hereafter named, with Blanks for their inferior Officers, which accordingly the late King caused immediately to be issued forth, both for England and Scotland. And because Bromfeild was so well known, and it might be dangerous for him to come back himself, he desired the King to advise of a proper Person or Persons, whom he might trust, to bring them over and distribute them here in England, according to his Majesty's Orders; amongst others, he this Informant was recommended to him by my Lord Thomas Howard, who told him (the said King James) he would engage Life for Life for him this Informant, that he would not betray him in the Service, and that if he were taken would rather die upon the spot. Upon which this Informant was sent

Lord Melford's(1) office, where he found my L^d Thomas Howard, D^r Bromfield, and my Lord together in his closet, whither he was carried to them, and then and there they asked this Informant whether he would venture to undertake to carry Declarations, Papers, and Commissions and other things for his Majesty's service to England: they told him it was a hazardous thing, that he should think well of it, for if he should happen to be taken his life was certainly gone, but if he wou'd and did escape, he should be sure of (and they promised him in the King's name) very great preferments and rewards when the King should come into England, upon which he this Informant undertook it, and my Lord Melford gave his Majesty an account of it, whereupon to blind the business and to take off any thought

for to my Lord Melfort's Office, where he found my Lord Thomas Howard, Dr. Bromfeild and my Lord together in his Closet, whither he was carried to them, and then and there they asked this Informant, Whether he would venture to undertake to carry Declarations, Papers and Commissions, and other things for his Majesty's Service to England? They told him it was a hazardous thing, that he should think well of it, for if he should happen to be taken his Life was certainly gone; but if he would and did escape, he should be sure of (and they promised him in the King's Name) very great Preferments, and Rewards, when the King should come into England. Upon which he this Informant undertook it, and my Lord Melfort gave an Account of it; whereupon to blind the business, and to take off any Thought

(1) There were two parties formed in King James's court; and while one of them would have engaged him to oblige himself to preserve the ancient laws of England, the other was still suggesting to him that it would be too mean a condescension to enter into a treaty with his subjects. The two cabals were headed by Middleton and Melford, who enjoyed their master's favour by turns, and were successively entrusted with the management of his affairs according to the variety of his circumstances. When he fancied himself in a condition to subdue the nation by force, Melford was his favourite; but when the posture of his affairs obliged him to have recourse to flattery and complaisance, Middleton was the principal director of his counsels. — Dr. Abbadie's *History of the late Conspiracy*, pp. 67, 68.

of his this Informant being employed or sent any where, my L[d] Melfort told him the King had thought fit to order the officer of the Guards (who was a Frenchman) to cashire him, and he might say to any one that asked him the reason, that he knew none, but was resolved to get his pass as soon as he cou'd, and go for England. About a week after this all things were got ready both for England and Scotland, and one M[r] Trelfall of the Ashes in Goosnargh in Lancashire and this Informant were dispatched for England, and one M[r] Gordon that was this informant's Comrade, and cashiered as he was, went for Scotland.

This Informant and M[r] Trelfall brought with them Declarations, Commissions, and other Papers, and landed at Cockeram within four miles of Lancaster in or about the *month of June* or the beginning of July 1689. Upon our landing we had like to have been wholly surprised by some Custom House Officers, but we escaped and brought off the most materiall of our business, *only lost some blanks and one of the King's Declarations*, four case of Pistols of this Infor-

of this Informant's being imploy'd or sent any where, my Lord Melfort told him, the King had thought fit to order the Officer of the Guards (who was a Frenchman) to casheer him, and that he might say to any one that asked him the reason, that he knew none, but was resolved to get his Pass as soon as he could, and go for England. About a Week after this, all things were got ready both for England and Scotland, and one Mr. Thrillfall of the Ashes in Goosner in Lancashire Gentleman, and this Informant were dispatched for England, and one Mr. Gourdon (who was this Informant's Comrade, and cashiered as he was) went for Scotland. This Informant and Mr. Thrillfall brought with them Declarations, Commissions and other Papers, and Landed at Cockram within four Miles of Lancaster, in or about the beginning of June 1689, upon our Landing we had like to have been wholly surprized by some Custom house Officers, but we escaped and brought off the most Material of our Business, only lost some Commissions, Blanks and one of the King's Declarations, two Case of Pistols

mant's that the King gave him, and some Cloths of this Informant's &c. The Commissions and most of the Blanks and several bundles were saved, and this Informant delivered them as fast as he cou'd one after another as followeth, viz. in

LANCASHIRE.

To my Lord Molineux's Son William a Colonel's Commission for a Regiment of Horse with blanks for all his inferior Officers to be filled up as he should think fitt.

To Thomas Tildesley Esq. the like for a Regiment of Dragoons.

To —— Dalton of Thornham Esq. the like for Dragoons.

To —— Sherbourne of Stonihurst Esq. the like for Horse.

To —— Townley of Townley Esq. the like for Horse.

Protest. To —— Girlington of Girlington Esq. a Colonel's Commission.

To Westby of Moubrick the like for Dragoons.

This Informant further saith that he delivered the Lord Molineux himself a paper of instructions, where amongst other things he was to be Governor of Liverpool, and this Informant

of this Informants, that the King gave him, and some Clothes of this Informant's &c. The greatest part of the Commissions and most of the Blanks in several Bundles were saved; and this Informant delivered them as fast as he could one after another as followeth, viz. in

LANCASHIRE.

To my Lord Molyneux's Son William a Colonel's Commission for a Regiment of Horse, with Blanks for all his Inferior Officers to be filled up as he should think fit.

To Thomas Tildesley Esq; the like for a Regiment of Dragoons.

To —— Dalton of Thurnham, Esq. the like for Dragoons.

To —— Sherbourn of Stonyhurst Esq; the like for Horse.

To —— Townley of Townley Esq; the like for Horse

To —— Girlington of Girlington Esq; a Colonel's Commission.

To —— Westby of Mobrick Esq; the like for Dragoons.

This Informant farther saith, that he delivered my Lord Molyneux himself a Paper of Instructions, where amongst other things, He was to be Governour of Liverpool; and this Informant

took notice of it because my Lord Melfort and Dr Bromfield both told him (this Informant) so and shewed it him in the paper before they seal'd it.

CHESHIRE.

Protest. To —— Legh of Lyme Esq. a Colonel's Commission with Blanks for his inferior Officers.

Protest. To Sir Thos Stanley of Alderley the like for Horse.

Protest. To ——Cholmondeley of Vale Royall the like for Horse.

To Sir Roland Stanley the like for Horse.

To my Ld Brudenel a Colonel's Commission for Horse with Blanks for his inferior Officers.

To Sir —— Throgmorton the like for Horse.

This Informant further says, that to these 2 last Gentlemen above written he delivered four other Colonels' Commissions for four Gentlemen whose names he was not to know, because as he did then conceive they were Protestants, for they told him (this Informant) they were honest Gentlemen and Protestants.

The Informant proceeds further in the business, and pretends he brought Commissions, Bundles, and Papers to other 19 Lords and Gent. Gentlemen in London and York,

took notice of it, because my Lord Melfort, and Dr. Bromfeild both told him, this Informant saw and showed it him in the Paper before they Sealed it.

CHESHIRE.

To Peter Legh of Lime Esq; Protestant. a Colonel's Commission, with Blanks for his Inferior Officers.

To Sir Thomas Stanley of Al- Protestant. dersley, the like for Horse.

To Mr. Chumley of Vale- Protestant. Royal, the like for Horse.

To Sir Rowland Stanley, the like for Horse.

To my Lord Brudenell a Colonel's Commission for Horse, with Blanks for his Inferior Officers.

To Sir —— Throgmorton, the like for Horse.

This Informant farther saith, That to these two Gentlemen last above written, he delivered four other Colonels' Commissions for four Gentlemen whose Names he was not to know, because (as he did then conceive) they were Protestants; for they told him this Informant, they were honest Gentlemen and Protestants.

Besides all these before mentioned this Informant delivered to one Mr. Jackson in Castle-street near the Meuse two Bundles of Commissions, with a

and that Mr Trelfall undertook to deliver them; but as they have little or no connection with the Lancashire business, shall pass them over.

This Informant says he himself, thro' the accusation of *the Captain*(1) who brought him over, was made a prisoner some time, but admitted to baile, and in the beginning of the year 1691, by order of Coll[l] Tildesley, Coll[l] Townley, Coll[l] Molineux, Mr Gerard, Coll[l] Dalton and others, enlisted Men to serve under the aforesaid Gentlemen.

	£.	s.	d.	
69 Men at	1	11	0	each.
3 Do. at	2	1	0	
1 a Serj[t]	3	1	0	

Swears to their names

He likewise says he listed for them with their order before and since the said year 1691, to the number of at least 500 Men.

Nov. 1691. The Informant swears he was sent to Ireland by the above Gentlemen to King James, and returned and brought intelligence that they might expect him (the said King James) the Spring following.

Dec. 1691. This Informant swears he enKing's Declaration, and two other Papers Sealed up with each with Orders to deliver one of them with a Declaration and Sealed Papers immediately to my Lord Griffin, and the other to Mr. W. Pen the Quaker, which this Informant supposes he did; for in his sight he took Coach, and said he would.

And besides all these, which he this Informant so as aforesaid delivered, Mr. Thrilfall undertook to deliver several Bundles of the same to several Gentlemen in York-shire.

This Informant farther saith, That every Colonel had with his Commission Blanks for double his Inferior Officers, and that all the Colonels had the liberty to raise Foot, Horse, or Dragoons; but Horse was more especially recommended.

This Informant farther saith, That after the dispatch of these Commissions, and other Business, he had the ill luck to be made a Prisoner for a considerable time upon the Accusation of the Captain that brought him over out of Ireland.

(1) This is a very uncandid account of the matter. The witness Lunt and Mr. Abbott were actually in prison in Coventry gaol charged with treasonable practices, when they were seen by Charles Cawson in the manner described in the *True History*, p. 23.

gaged in a plot to assassinate King William, but this he says miscarried. That in the year 169$\frac{1}{2}$ he was at Dunkenhalgh, the seat of Coll^{l} Walmesley, where were present the above Gentlemen and others to the number of 30 or 40, &c.

He swears against others in London who had bought horses and arms. — Names as per Manuscript.

March 169$\frac{4}{5}$. Swears against others who he says were Commanders of men of war and in King James's interest.

Dec. 1693. Swears against other Lords and Gentlemen.

May 1694. He the Informant swears he can take any body to places in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire where arms are lodged &c.

Jn^{o} Lunt.

Jurat. 27^{o} die Junij
1694 coram me
J. Trenchard.(1)

This Informant farther saith, That during the time he was a Prisoner under Bail, that is to say, about the beginning of the year 1691, he this Informant by the Order of Colonel Tildesley, Col. Townley, Col. William Molyneux, Mr. Gerrard, Col. Dalton and others, listed in London several Men for Soldiers to serve as Horse or Dragoons, to be under the Command of the said Colonels, or any other as they should dispose of them to.

Here he names about a hundred of the Soldiers Listed, and the Pay they were to receive.

This Informant farther saith, That being discharged of his Imprisonment in the Month of November 1691, he this Informant was desired by several of the Gentlemen, that he had delivered the Commissions aforesaid to, viz. Lord Molyneux, Col. Molyneux his Son, Sir William Gerrard and his Son, Mr. Dickinson of Wrightington, John Harrington of Heightonhay, Esq; Col. Townley, Col. Tildesley, Col. Dalton, and others,

(1) This is that Sir John Trenchard, Secretary of State, who about this time was charged with having in the king's employment many professed Jacobites, who were suspected of availing themselves of their position to convey intelligence to the king's enemies. To a gentleman who hinted to him his suspicions on this subject, the secretary said, it was become necessary in the present juncture of affairs, and there was no way to make the king easy without it. The gentleman, who had known Sir

to go into France to give King James an Account in what condition they were, and to bring his Majesty's Commands, how they might

John Trenchard when he was proscribed for his zeal in the country interest, replied, That was not always your opinion, Sir John. No, says Mr. Secretary, but I see with other eyes now. And pray Sir, replied the gentleman, which of your eyes were better, those you saw with ten years ago or those you see with now?—Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 88. Possibly the change in Sir John's vision was effected by his being excepted in King James's offers of pardon contained in his declaration published in 1692.—Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 72. Sir John Trenchard's life must have been a most changeful one. He was of the Middle Temple, and a Serjeant at Law, and in 1680 he was a member of parliament, and frequently spoke in the house. In the MSS. of Queen's Coll. Oxford, there is a lengthy speech of his made on the 15th November in that year, on the motion of Sir William Jones against the Judges on the charge of imposing exorbitant fines for trivial offences, &c., in which he concludes as follows: "Let us settle a committee to enquire into their crimes, and not fail of doing justice upon them that have perverted it, let us purge the fountain, and the streams will issue pure." In 1688 he was M.P. for Thetford. In 1689 he was chief justice of Chester. He was great nephew of the John Trenchard who in 1648 and 1652 took part with the regicides, and signed various papers said to be in the collection of the late Josiah Trench of Windsor. In the *Notes and Queries* for May 1852, corrected the following month, there is set forth at length a general pardon granted to him by King James II. on 17th December 1687.—*Notes and Queries*, June 19th 1852, p. 593. A writer in the No. of this date says the pardon was in 1686. It appears that William Penn was the mediator between Trenchard and the King, and he transcribes this statement from Mr. Hepworth Dixon's Life of Penn, p. 276. Lawton, a young man of parts and spirit, had attracted Penn's notice; in politics he was a state whig, and it was at his instance that he had braved the king's frown by asking a pardon for Aaron Smith. One day over their wine at Popples, where Penn had carried Lawton to dine, he said to his host, "I have brought you such a man as you never saw before; for I have just now asked him, how I might do something for himself, and he has desired me to obtain a pardon for another man! I will do that if I can; but," he added, turning to Lawton, "I should be glad if thou wilt think of some kindness for thyself." "Ah," said Lawton, after a moment's thought, "I can tell you how you might prolong my life." "How so?" returned the mediator, "I am no physician." Lawton answered, "There is Jack Trenchard in exile; if you could get leave for him to come home with safety and honour, the drinking of a bottle now and then with Jack would make me so cheerful that it would prolong my life." They laughed at the pleasantry, and Penn promised to do what he could. He went away to the lord chancellor, got him to join in the solicitation, and in a few days the future secretary was pardoned and allowed to return to England. It appears also from Mr. Dixon's narrative that Trenchard was employed by Penn to dissuade James from his bigoted and violent course, and that he had interviews with the king for this purpose. There is a biographical notice

be serviceable to him, which this Informant did, and gave his Majesty the said Account. He the said King James commanded him to return for England, and then amongst other things, that he this Informant should tell them from him that he did not doubt but in the Spring following to be in a condition to come for England; And at this Informant's coming away, he was ordered by my Lord Melfort himself to go to Captain Griffith in the Meuse, as soon as he this Informant should come to London, and deliver him the said Griffith a Paper from his Lordship. It was Sealed, and this Informant did not know what it was, but he was to advise and receive Orders from him the said Captain Griffith. This Informant saith, that he arrived in London about the latter end of December 1691, and that he went immediately to Captain Griffith, and delivered him the said Paper, and that the said Griffith read the said Paper, and told him this Informant, he did not question but this Business, meaning that in the Paper, mentioned, as this Informant then supposed, will be accomplished in a little time, and then he disclosed to this Informant what it was he meant, which was the cutting off of the Prince of Orange at some proper time when he was a Hunting; and then he put it to this Informant, Whether he was willing to make one, and be concerned in it. This Informant first desired to know the Persons engaged in it. He the said Griffith then told him, he was not to tell him their Names, but he would at any time bring this Informant into the Company of several of them that were engaged in it, and about two days after this Informant came to him again and went with him into the Company of several Gentlemen at the Queens-head in White-Hart-Yard in the Strand, where, and with whom, the said Captain Griffith and this Informant discoursed the Method of doing it, and all(1) agreed,

and two portraits of Sir John Trenchard in Hutchen's *Dorsetshire*. He had been engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, and it is said that he was at dinner with Mr. William Speke, at Ilminster, when the news arrived of Monmouth's defeat at Sedgmoor. Speke was shortly afterwards hanged before his own door, whilst at the same time Trenchard, having secreted himself, had the good fortune to be embarking for the Continent. Sir John Trenchard died in 1694 at the age of forty-six.

(1) In his evidence on the trial he does not mention that he was concerned in this plot.

it was to be easiest done when he should be a hunting, or some time late when he went to, or came from, Kensington.

This Informant saith, there was in Company at that time about Nine or Ten, three or four, or more of them this Informant knew, three of which are since dead. Captain Griffith then told this Informant and the Company, he had about Sixty brave Fellows engaged in the Business, who he did not at all doubt but would one way or other effect it. Several of the principal of them, as Whitney(1) the High-way Man, and several others happened to be sometime after taken and secured, which was the only reason that this Informant knows of, that it was not attempted.

This Informant farther saith, That about the same time abovesaid, that he this Informant came last out of France, viz. about the latter end of December 1691, there came several English Gentlemen of Quality, viz., Lord Stafford, Mr. Stafford, Col. Parker, Col. Walmesley, a French Lieutenant-General, whose Name this Informant doth not remember, and others with Commissions, Declarations, Grants and Patents for themselves and others, and for their Inferior Officers from King James.

This Informant farther saith, that in the Months of March and April 1692, he this Informant was imployed by, and assisting to, several private Gentlemen and Tradesmen in or about London to list Men, buy Horses, Arms and Sadles, and that the said Men, Horses and Arms, were to be imployed in the Service of the late King James.(2)

And this Informant farther saith, That by the Defeat of the French Fleet their design of Rising being wholly disappointed, they fell upon other measures, and this Informant remained in several parts of this Kingdom, and was at several of the like Meet-

(1) There is an account of this person in Johnson's *Lives of Highwaymen* (p. 231), but, amongst his many crimes, there is no mention of his being suspected or accused either of murder or any share in the assassination plot. He is said to have been executed on the 19th December 1694.

(2) This part of the statement, even if true, is no evidence against the Lancashire gentlemen, but, true or false, it is too vague and too general to be rebutted.

ings as aforesaid, until the last Summer, and then about July 1693, was desired with some others to go to France by several of the Gentlemen, that this Informant has before mentioned, to have delivered Commissions to in Lancashire, that is to say, by my Lord Molyneux, Col. Molyneux, Sir William Gerrard, Mr. Gerrard, Mr. Standish, Mr. Dickinson, Col. Townley, and several others of that Country to give the King an Account of the Condition they were in, and to bring them back an Account of what hopes, and when he thought he should be in a condition to come for England; and this Informant went accordingly to St. Germains, and spake with the King, and delivered him what he had in charge from the Gentlemen in England, and my Lord Melfort, being at that time with the King in his Closet, bid him this Informant go to Captain Griffith, who was then at St. Germains; the Captain ordered him this Informant to speak with Dr. Bromfeild, who told him this Informant when he came to him, that if he would undertake to carry a Signet with him into England, and show it to such Persons as he would direct him this Informant to, that were concerned in a Design,(1) and would engage to make one with them in the same, he this Informant should receive the same Reward that was intended for them; which design he then told him this Informant, was to cut off the Prince of Orange by any such way or means that the Undertakers amongst themselves, when they came together, should agree upon: Whereupon he this Informant promised and engaged to them the said Bromfeild and Griffith to make one in the Business; and was then forthwith dispatched with the Signet, and other Matters for England; where he arrived and landed at Dover in December last, and there he this Informant met with those, that the said Dr. Bromfeild and Captain Griffith had directed him to, which were, viz. Captain Nowell, Captain Walton, Mr. Pepper, Mr. Preston and Captain Roberts, who were in the Design of cutting off the Prince of Orange, as this Informant was told; and that

(1) The witness does not even allege that the Lancashire gentlemen were privy to this design.

there were in all Sixteen Persons concerned, but there he this Informant met Four of them only, who were as followeth, Captain Nowell, Serjeant of the Admiralty, and one of the Principal Gunners, as this Informant was told, who told him this Informant, He had his Son and two more ready for the occasion; Captain Walton of Foulston, a Custom house Officer there, who told him this Informant, he had Six more engaged in the Business, who with us together, he said, Walton was very confident might in a Month or two's time do the Business effectually with little hazard. Mr. Pepper of Dover, a Custom house Officer as this Informant was told, or some place there worth about Three hundred Pounds per Annum, and Mr. Preston of Feversham, one of the Militia Officers were the other Two of the Four before mentioned.

This Informant farther saith, That the said Dr. Bromfeild and Captain Griffith did order this Informant to assure the said Nowell, Walton, Pepper and Preston from them, and in the Kings Name, that every one concerned in the Action should have the Reward of Five hundred Pounds per annum each, which was the same made to him at St. Germains by the said Dr. Bromfeild and Captain Griffith; and my Lord Melfort told him this Informant, after he had kissed the King's hand, and was coming down Stairs, That if the Design that Griffith and Bromfeild had engaged him this Informant in, took effect, the King would soon be in England.(1)

Upon this he this Informant came for England, and in travelling, being somewhat troubled in his thoughts with what he had undertaken, he called upon several Priests that were his Friends and Acquaintance (and Relations) in France, as he came along, and did, tho' not in plain terms, acquaint them with what he this Informant was engaged in, some were positively against it as damnable, and others for it as meritorious, which difference amongst them gave him this Informant more disturbance; so that as soon as he came into England he resolved not to be one in it, and to

(1) Compare this with the account which the witness gave of the same transaction on the trial.

prevent it, if he could; but this Informant did not resolve then to discover it, until he was perswaded thereunto by a Friend (Taffe[1]), by whom after he had often times discoursed the Matter with him, he this Informant was at length prevailed with to discover it.

This Informant further saith, that being at St. Germains in the Months of October and November 1693, the Lord Melfort, Capt. Griffith and some others then told him this Informant, that there was a Design laid by their Friends the Protestants, engag'd with the Roman Catholics there for the seizing the Tower of London, Tilbury Fort, Sherness, the Ports and Coasts, &c. the Manner, viz. That some of the Officers within the Tower, who were sure and firm to King James's Interest, whose Names this Informant knoweth not, they being kept as a Secret to the Chiefs only, were to be ready to receive several Gentlemen and others that were to pass as private Persons, some in the Habit of private Gentlemen, with good private Arms, others with the same Habit as the Horse Guards do wear, and others in the Habit of Foot-Soldiers all arm'd accordingly, and some like plain Country Men, until there was a sufficient Number with the help of those within, to have secur'd the Gate and Bridge, when on a Signal given, those without, who were in great numbers to have been lodg'd about the Tower Hill, St. Katherines, East-Smithfield, Thames-Street and Places adjacent, a great many that were to be walking carelessly about the Gates and upon the Wharf provided for that Purpose, who were to have made for the Gates, secured the Guns and all within, by cutting them off, and making them Prisoners; and for Tilbury Fort by the help of some within much after the same Manner, and that for Sherness, they did not doubt but to have secured by some Officers of the Fleet, and for the Ports of Dover and Foulston and the Coast upon Rumney-Mash, those they said were undertaken to be made theirs by those Officers of King William, that this Informant hath named above, viz. Nowell and the rest, with the Correspondents they pretended to have in those Parts, and that Hull

(1) But on the trial he never once mentions Mr. Taffe's name.

also, and all those parts in the North, were at the same time provided for in the like Manner.

This Informant farther saith, that some time after his arrival at London, which was in December 1693, he was at a Meeting at the Queen's Head in white Hart-Yard in the Strand, where was the Lord Griffin, the Lord Baltimore, the Lord P—— was gone before this Informant came there, the rest this Informant saw there, and Capt. Tozier, Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Tasbrough, Mr. Kingsley and some other Gentlemen, told this Informant, they had consulted and agreed of the Method abovesaid, with those Lords, for the securing the Tower and other Places, and that there would be no doubt of accomplishing it, &c. with a great deal of ease, but still that they said the Lords and Gentlemen had a great dependence and assurance from those Gentlemen and others in Commission as aforesaid; for that they were well assur'd they had an Army listed and Officer'd and ready well Arm'd and Accoutr'd at all Points at twenty four Hours' warning, to the Number of at least thirty Thousand Horse, Foot and Dragoons in the North Parts, besides those here, in and about London and the Parts adjacent, which were under the Command, Care and Conduct of Lord Fe***m, Lord Griffin, Coll. Griffin his Son, Col. Porter, Col. Holman, Coll. Sir William Go**g, Coll. Bernard H**d, Coll. T**n, Lieut. Coll. B*s and some others.

This Informant farther saith, that in March last, about the middle or latter end of that Month, he this Informant was at a Meeting, at my Lord Str——e's of about twelve or sixteen Protestant and Popish Gentlemen, some of which this Informant knew, as Mr. Basteen of Dover, Capt. Roberts, Dr. Clark, Mr. Lee, Capt.——— that lives two Miles from Sir Bazill Dixwells. The Meeting was to consider and agree to be all ready for securing that Country and the Ports and Coasts there, upon any Occasion for the King's Landing or otherwise, and to compute what their Strength they might depend upon might amount unto, and it was then agreed amongst themselves, that they had between five and six thousand Men well Arm'd and Disciplin'd, besides what they

might reasonably expect would come in upon their rising, whose Number they did not doubt would be very considerable.

This Informant farther saith, that in his frequent passing to and again from the Ports to and from London at his Inn in Rochester, kept by one Alderman Cross of that City, he was well known to him the said Cross, who several Times and Nights that he has lain in his House, did introduce him this Informant into the Company of several Commanders, who being by him the said Cross satisfy'd what this Informant was, were extreamly civil and kind to this Informant, entertaining him and inviteing him Aboard their Ships and otherways.

And this Informant saith, that in December last, he did bring from my Lord Melfort, a Paper seal'd to that Inn-Keeper, this Informant did not see what was in it, but he the said Cross told this Informant, that it was for some honest Gentlemen that did belong to the Sea.

This Informant further saith, that about six Weeks since Capt. Tozier and Mr. Kingsley, a Gentleman that then lately came from St. Germains, told this Informant, Mr. Whitefield and another, Mr. Kingsley being present, that since there was an Account given there, that the late Kentish Design upon the Life of King William, was by some Traytor or other prevented; it was there resolv'd to try another way upon him in Flanders,[1] which was by causing several resolv'd Gentlemen and others of the English, Scotch and Irish Nations, and some French of seeming Quality, to desert from the French Army in Flanders as early this Campaign as they could, that would undertake to watch and take the first Opportunity they could in their several Posts, to attempt upon his Life.

This Informant further saith, that he is very sure, that he this Informant can point to, and carry any Body, to the very Place, some he believes in or near the Town, but more particularly in several parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and Cheshire,

[1] None of the Lancashire gentlemen were compromised by this evidence.

where there were, and this Informant is very confident yet are, lodg'd, secur'd and kept great Quantities of Arms and Warlike Equipage of all Sorts, with great Numbers of Horses fit for Service. And this Informant saith, that if he were Authorized(1) and Impower'd thereunto, he this Informant would undertake to Seize and Secure them.]

George Wilson swears to the truth of what Lunt had sworn before, &c.; relates the aforementioned Lunt's information as being eye witness.

George Wilson.

Jurat. die Junij 1649
coram me
J. Trenchard.

[*The Information of George Wilson.*

From the *True History*, by R. K., p. 249.

This Informant upon his Oath saith, that in or about the Month of April 1689, one Doctor Bromfeild came to William Fitzherbert Esq; at Wapra near West-Chester in Flintshire, where he said Bromfield lay concealed for some time for a Passage into Ireland, from whence he was recommended to this Informant to assist him, who then liv'd near the Sea-side, at a Place called Redland, where after the said Bromfield had stay'd about a Week; this Informant did assist him in buying of a Boat of about 25 Tun, which said Boat being victuall'd and ready to sail, was seiz'd by Mr. Morston, and Bromfeild escap'd to Mr. Crosby's in Lancashire, from whence by the Assistance of Mr. Peirce Morston [Moston], Mr. Wynn of Gop,(2) Mr. Lloyd of Greith [Grwch], Mr. Robert Brierwood of West Chester, Mr. George Pennant, Mr. Pue [Pugh] of Pendall, and this Informant, he afterwards got over in a open Boat.

This Informant farther saith, that being search'd for by Troopers from West Chester, and other Soldiers, and by the Civil Officers of the Country, was forc'd to leave his House and Family, and hid himself in the Woods for many Days, and could never return to

(1) He afterwards obtained such authority, and used it most unwarrantably.
(2) Near Newmarket, in Flintshire.

his House again; but got into Lancashire, whither his Wife and Family follow'd him, where he this Informant was receiv'd and entertained by my Lord Molyneux, Coll. Tildesley, Mr. Standish of Standish, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir James Pool, Sir William Gerrard, Coll. Townley and others; sometime at the House of one Gentleman, and sometimes at another's.

This Informant saith, that about Midsummer, 1689, he this Informant and others were directed by the Gentlemen aforesaid, and others, to look out about the Sea-coasts thereabouts, for any Gentlemen that should arrive from Ireland; for at that time he this Informant was told they expected some Friends and News from Ireland, which he this Informant did, and about the beginning of June 1689, Mr. Edmund Thrillfall of the Ashes in Goosner; and one Mr. Lunt arrived at Cockram, and came immediately to Col. Tildesley's with several Bundles of Papers, where this Informant was then attending their coming, &c.

This Informant saith, that upon their coming to the said Coll. Tildesley's, the said Thrillfall and Mr. Lunt, immediately open'd their Cloakbags,(1) and took out several Commissions, Declarations, Blanks and seal'd Papers from King James, to several Persons and Gentlemen of Quality in that Country and Yorkshire and divided them; those for Yorkshire Mr. Thrilfall put up, and undertook to deliver, and had a Guide immediately provided; the others for Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire and Parts thereabouts, Mr. Lunt took to himself to deliver; and had this Informant with him from Place to Place to Guide(2) and Assist him in the Delivery of them, and after they had left and deliver'd to Coll. Tildesley his Commission for being a Collonel (which he the said Coll. receiv'd upon his Knees and kiss'd it) with the Blanks for his inferiour Officers,

(1) In the evidence of the sailors nothing is said of their having cloke bags when they came ashore! but on the trial Mr. Lunt swore that they brought on shore a trunk which they emptied of its contents and afterwards left in a ditch. The cloke bags might have been in the trunk.

(2) On the trial he never names the witness Wilson as his guide, though he mentions having one.

they proceeded(1) and went to the Lord Molyneux his House, and deliver'd one Collonels Commission to Mr. William Molyneux his Son for a Regiment of Horse, with Blanks for his inferiour Officers; he the said Coll. Molyneux immediately filling that Blank for the Lieutenant-Collonel, deliver'd it in the Presence of this Informant to Mr. William Gerrard, who was with the said Coll. Molyneux when this Informant and Mr. Lunt came in.

This Informant further saith, that he this Informant was present, and did see Mr. Lunt deliver to Mr. Sherbourn of Stonyhurst, a Collonel's Commission with Blanks as aforesaid for a Regiment of Horse.

To Mr. Townley of Townley the like for Horse.

To Mr. Girlinton of Girlington Esq; a Collonel's Commission.

To Mr. Westby of Mobrick Esq; the like for Dragoons.

To Mr. Legh of Lyme Esq; a Collonel's Commission with Blanks as aforesaid.

To Sir Tho. Stanley of Alderley the like for Horse.

To Mr. Chumley(2) of Vale Royal the like for Horse, &c.

To Sir Rowland Stanley the like for Horse, &c.

To Sir Robert Throgmorton the like for Horse, &c.

To Sir Henry Tichbourn he being then at the Lord Molyneux's the like for Horse.

To Sir —— Giffard of Chillington the like for Horse.

To Sir James Symmons of Ashton in Staffordshire, the like for Horse.

This Informant saith, that he also saw Sir Robert Throgmorton fill up a Lieutenant Collonel's Commission to his own Regiment, and deliver to one Sir Charles Neale, who accepted the same, and kiss'd it upon his Knees.

And that he this Informant also was present, and saw Sir James Symmons deliver a Captain's Commission to Mr. William Fowler of St. Thomas near Stafford.

(1) By night, according to Lunt's evidence on the trial, where they found all the conspirators assembled, which is very different from the account here given.

(2) The House of Commons had imprisoned him for refusing to take the oaths as a member of their house.

And also when Sir Thomas Gifford deliver'd a Captain's Commission to Mr. Augustin Gifford, and also to Capt. Gowre the like Captain's Commission, and to Bazil Brooks Esq; the like Captain's Commission, and to Mr. John Pursel a Cornet's Commission, and to Thomas Pursell a Warrant for Quarter Master, and to several other inferior Officers and the several Collonels aforesaid.

This Informant saith, that all these Collonels' Commissions with the Blanks as aforesaid, were deliver'd by Mr. Lunt in the presence of this Informant: And this Informant saith, he knows they were such Commissions, because he saw them and heard most of them read at the time of the delivery to them. And for the Lieutenant Collonel and other inferiour Officers' Commissions, he this Informant saw most of them fill'd up by the Superiours, and deliver'd to the inferiour Officers as aforesaid: And this Informant further saith, that at the same time aforesaid, he this Informant saw the aforesaid Mr. Lunt, deliver to my Lord Molyneux a seal'd Paper, which he this Informant saw him the Lord Molyneux open, and read; which to the best of this Informant's Memory was purporting a Commission and Instructions for the Care and Government of Liverpoole.

This Informant also saith, that he was at a Meeting at Sir John Lawson's in Yorkshire, about the Month of March(1) then next following with Mr. Lunt, where were the Gentlemen Mr. Lunt names in his Information, where he this Informant then heard most of them publickly own, that they had receiv'd Commissions by Mr. Thrillfall some time before from King James, and would then have oblig'd this Informant and Mr. Lunt, to have engaged with them the Gentlemen of the Country, &c.

This Informant further saith, that about the beginning of the year 1691,(2) he this Informant heard that Mr. Lunt was employ'd in and about London to list Men: And this Informant saith, that some short time after several Men came into Lancashire as from

(1) In Mareh 1689-90 Lunt was in confinement in Newgate.

(2) From August 1690 to April 1691 Lunt was a close prisoner in Lancaster castle.

London, and said they were listed by the said Mr. Lunt, and sent down to serve under the Command of some of the Officers aforesaid; and he this Informant saith, that as fast as they came down, he was order'd by my Lord Molyneux, Sir Thomas Clifton, Coll. Molyneux, Coll. Tildesley, Coll. Townley, Sir William Gerrard and his Son, and several others the Officers aforesaid, to take Care of them and provide Quarters or Lodgings for them, which the said Informant did accordingly, and that at several Times this Informant had, and did, receive Money from my Lord Molyneux, Coll. Tildesley, Coll. Townley, Sir William Gerrard and some others to pay the said Souldiers for their Subsistance. And this Informant saith, he did pay and distribute the Money he so receiv'd amongst them, which this Informant saith, in the whole did amount to (to the best of his Memory) about 3 or 400 *l*, the Names of many of the Soldiers, this Informant yet remembers, and a List of them was deliver'd(1) into the House of Commons when the Plot was examin'd there.

And this Informant saith, that he is very well assured, that the said Mr. Lunt did at several other times before, and after, List a great many more than those named in the List aforementioned.

This Informant further saith, that about the Month of February 1691, he this Informant was at a general Meeting of several Gentlemen at Coll. Walmesley's at Dungan-Hall in Lancashire, many of whom he yet remembers, viz. Coll. Townley, Coll. Tildesley, Coll. Molyneux, Coll. Dalton, Sir William Gerrard, Mr. Gerrard, Mr. Dickingson, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Tildesley of Stansare,(2) Mr. Massey of Buddington, Mr. Langton of the Loe, Mr.

(1) This is the enquiry in 1691 referred to by Mr. Smollett (*History of England*, vol. i. p. 141.) He purposely avoids saying who delivered in the list. If it was either he or Mr. Lunt who delivered it, how incredible is it, that either of them should have been afterwards trusted by the Lancashire gentlemen. If it was neither he nor Mr. Lunt who delivered it, why was not the witness named and produced?

(2) I am indebted to Mr. Ormerod for suggesting that Stansare may be Staanzaker, where "Tildesley gent" is placed by Blome in 1673. The Tildesley here mentioned was probably either Thomas or Ralph Tildesley, younger sons of the gallant Sir Thomas Tildesley.

Gerrard of Inch, Sir Thomas Clifton, Mr. Blundell of Crosby, Coll. Westby of Mobrick, Coll. Parker, and others the said Coll. Walmesley being then lately come out of France, he the said Coll. then produc'd publicly in the said Meeting several Commissions, Declarations, Grants or Patents, that he had then lately brought from King James of several Gentlemen's Estates of that Country to other Gentlemen there, that were King James's Friends, as to Coll. Tildesley, Lord Molyneux, Coll. Westbey of Mobrick, Coll. Townley of Townley, Sir Thomas Clifton, Sir William Gerrard, Coll. Molyneux, Mr. Gerrard of Inch, Mr. Langton of Loe, and some others.

This Informant further saith, that above a Fortnight after, he this Informant was at the like Meeting at Philip Draycot's of Painesley-Hall in the County of Stafford Esq; of most of the aforesaid Gentlemen, and others as Mr. Bazill Brooks, Sir James Symonds, Sir Richard Fleetwood and his Sons William and Rowland, —— Cary of Cary Esquire, and others where were produc'd several of the like Grants and Patents as aforesaid, brought over by the Lord Stafford, and there also given out to those they did belong to; this Informant further saith, that at this Meeting aforesaid Coll. Parker being also there, and was then also lately come out of France, he the said Coll. did then publickly produce and deliver to one Capt. George Penny then in the Company a Commission from King James, for the said Penny to be a Major of Horse, which he the said Capt. Penny accepted of with many Thanks, and promis'd to do the King the best Service he could.

And this Informant further saith, that at another Time being at a Meeting with the said Coll. Parker at the Sign of the Star an Inn in Holywell(1) in Flintshire and about twenty Gentlemen more, he this Informant there saw the said Parker deliver one Commission from King James to one Mr. Pew of Pendrell(2) to be a Captain of Horse; and at the same time, he the said Parker deliver'd

(1) Holywell was near to the witness's late place of residence at Rhudlan, from which he had been obliged to flee. His shewing himself at Holywell seems hardly credible under the circumstances.

(2) Probably Pugh of Penrhyn, a family allied to the Langtons.

in the presence of this Informant to one Mr. George Davies of Treloughnel and to several others, and that the said Parker did there and at several other times, as well as at the aforementioned Meetings, order, direct and desire all the Officers to take Care to have their Men ready at an Hour's warning, with a Pound of Powder and Ball proportionable to each Man, for that he expected News of the King's Landing every day, &c.

This Informant saith, that about the beginning of the Year 1689, he this Informant was order'd and employ'd by Mr. Massey, Sir James Symonds, Sir Thomas Gifford and Capt. Fowler to List as many Men as he could in Staffordshire and North Wales for King James's Service under their Command, and that he this Informant had Money of the aforesaid Gentlemen for that purpose: and this Informant saith, that he did at that Time (that is to say) within the space of three Weeks List about sixty Men, whose Names this Informant hath by him ready to produce as he then took them. This Informant also saith, that he hath been since employ'd to List Men several Times in the latter end of the year 1691, and in the beginning of the Year 1692, by several other Gentlemen as Coll. Walmesley, Capt. Penny, Mr. Standish of Standish, Mr. Morston of Delakerey(1) and Capt. Pennant of Baggal.

And this Informant saith, he did at these Times by the order and directions of those Gentlemen last above mention'd, List about the number of Sixscore, and had Money of the said Captain, by the Hands of Capt. Pennant for that purpose.

And this Informant further saith, that he did several Times after he had so listed the said Soldiers, pay them Subsistance Money by order of Penny and Pennant, from whom he had the same.

And this Informant further saith, that he has several Times seen great quantities of Arms in the Houses of the Gentlemen hereafter mention'd in North Wales, Cheshire, Staffordshire and Lancashire, viz. in the House of Mr. Massey of Puddington, Capt. Penny, Capt. Pennant, Sir James Symonds, Sir Thomas Giffard, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Draycott, Sir William Gerrard, Mr. Walmesley, Mr. Standish

(1) Moston of Talacre.

of Standish-Hall, and in some other Houses that he cannot at present remember.

In the whole this Informant verily believes, that there were in the several Houses abovesaid that he this Informant saw, Arms for at least a Thousand Men, and that it is not above two years at the most since he this Informant saw them there;

Jurat' 27. die Junii 1694. Coram me, J. Trenchard.

George Wilson.]

John Wombwell(1) late a Carrier swears to Arms bought in London and delivered to him by Agents from the Lancashire Gentlemen, and by him afterwards delivered to the said Gentlemen at their Houses in Lancashire, such as Swords, Pistolls, and Carbines, Kettle Drums, Trumpets, Boots, and Saddles, and swears they might be seized in the above Gentlemen's Premises.

Jn° Wombwell.

Jurat. 30 die Junij 1694 coram me J. Trenchard.

[*The Information of John Womball late a Carrier, Given the Twenty Eight of June*, 1694.

Printed from the *True History*, by R. K., p 231.

This Informant saith upon his Oath, that about the latter end of the year 1688, or beginning of the year 1689, he was imployed by Mr. Townley of Townley in Lancashire, to carry several large Trunks and Boxes for him the said Townley from Barnet to his House in Lancashire; and that several times since, he this Informant hath carried several other the like Trunks and Boxes, &c. for him the said Mr. Townley into Lancashire as aforesaid; and this Informant saith, that by the frequent Service of that kind, he this Informant did per-

(1) This witness appears to have failed in business as a carrier. His evidence does not affect any of the eight prisoners tried at Manchester, except Sir Thomas Clifton, Mr. Dicconson, and, perhaps, Mr. Walmsley.

form for the said Mr. Townley, he became very conversant and well acquainted with the said Townley and his Family, insomuch that the said Mr. Townley himself has upon several Occasional Discourses with this Informant of business of that kind often told him this Informant, that the Trunks and Boxes he carried for him from Barnet, and also the others the like since were full of Arms, viz. Swords, Pistols, and Carbines. And this Informant saith, He has been showed great Quantities of such sort of Arms in the House of the said Mr. Townley, both by himself and Servants, and has been told by them they were some of those that he this Informant brought from Barnet and London. This Informant farther saith, that one Nich. Rigby Servant to the said Mr. Townley hath been several times at London to buy Arms, by the direction of his said Master, and others, and sent them down by this Informant in several Boxes for that purpose made. And further, that the said Rigby told this Informant, that he had also bought Kettle Drums and Jack Boots, which he this Informant afterwards saw at Standish Hall, and packt them up in several Casks, which Casks he this Informant carried into Lancashire, and delivered as he was directed. This Informant saith, that amongst a great many others, that he this Informant carried, there was one of the Boxes seized at Lichfield, in which was 102 Swords.

This Informant farther saith, that in March 169$\frac{9}{1}$, one Mr. Lunt delivered this Informant at his Inn in London four Packs, which he this Informant is very well assured were Arms; which said Packs he this Informant delivered as he was by the said Lunt directed at Preston, Standish, and Croston in Lancashire.

This Informant farther saith, that in the year 1691 and 1692, he this Informant received at his Inn, and carried for several Lancashire Gentlemen, great Quantities of Arms in Trunks and Boxes, viz. for Mr. Standish of Standish, Mr.—— Tildesley of the Lodge, Mr. Ashton, Mr. Stamford, Captain Eccleston, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Gradill of Barbers-moor, Captain Green (a Frenchman) at Standish Hall, and several others. And this Informant saith, that it was usual for the Servants of the said Gentlemen to wait the Coming

of this Informant's Horses, and take the said Boxes and Trunks of him upon the Road.

This Informant saith, that in February 169$\frac{2}{3}$, the Lord Brandon Gerrard, and the Lord Willoughby, having Information of his this Informant's customary Carrying of Arms from London did cause two Boxes of Swords, that this Informant then had brought from London to be seiz'd at Wigan.

This Informant farther saith, that in the latter end of the year 1692, he this Informant was imployed by several of the aforesaid Gentlemen, to carry Arms (as aforesaid) for them, and also to bring up the Money to pay for them, which at one time, as this Informant verily believes, was about 200*l.* but this Informant saith, that he very well knows, that the Servants and Agents of some of the Gentlemen aforementioned had far greater Sums returned up per Bill, which they laid out for Arms in London, as aforesaid.

This Informant saith, that at a Meeting at Standish Hall in the Months of March or April 1692, of a great many Gentlemen, viz. Mr. Mollyneux, Sir William Gerrard and his Son, Captain Eccleston, Mr. Tildesley, Mr. Townley, Mr. Dickinson, and his Brother Captain Green, Mr. Haughton, Sir Thomas Clifton, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Trafford, Mr. William Standish, and others; he this Informant heard it discoursed amongst them of its being very necessary, that the Arms lodged in their several Houses should be divided and distributed amongst them. And also saith, that at another the like Meeting in July last at the same place of most of the same Gentlemen, and others, he this Informant saw a great Quantity of Arms and Warlike Equipage, as Kettle Drums, Trumpets, Jack Boots and some Saddles divided amongst the Gentlemen following, to every one some, viz. to Sir William Gerrard, Mr. Mollyneux, Sir Thomas Clifton, Mr. Dalton, Mr. William Standish, Captain Green, Mr. Thomas Gerrard, Captain Eccleston, Mr. Ashton, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Stamford, Mr. Gradill, Mr. Trafford, Mr. Tildesley, Mr. John Gerrard, Mr. Westley, Mr. Hesket, Mr. Haughton, Mr. Worthington, Captain Radish, Mr. Mollyneux of

Mosbrough, Mr. Gillibourne, Mr. Anderton, Mr. Walmsley of Slowley, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Sherbourn, for Mr. Walmesley of Dungan-Hall, and to several other Gentlemen. And saith, that he this Informant was assisting, and did help to pack up many of the said Arms in Boxes, and otherwise, and in loading on Horses, &c. in the night, and he this Informant verily believes the whole quantity then so divided as aforesaid, did amount to at least Arms enough for one thousand Horsemen. This Informant farther saith, that he this Informant is very well assured, that besides him this Informant, there were several other Carriers in Lancashire, that have been imployed by the said Gentlemen aforesaid, and have carried very great quantities of Arms for them, as well as he this Informant. This Informant also saith, that at the said Meeting, the said Gentlemen did agree and resolve amongst themselves, that they would send for, and have provided for them, more and other Quantities of Arms of the same kind, and that Mr. Rigby, and Mr. Hatton should (more especially) be imployed to buy the same, they having dexterously, and with great care provided very great Quantities before. And he this Informant saith, that he is very certain (in pursuance of the said Agreement and Resolution) there has been bought and provided in London, and sent into Lancashire, great Quantities since the time of the said Meeting last mentioned.

This Informant farther saith, That there has been kept for two or three years last past, and yet is amongst the Gentlemen mentioned in this Information, great numbers of very good Horses fit for Service; and that the said Gentlemen their Servants or Agents do daily buy and provide as many as they can by any means come at, and particularly, that at Preston Fair the tenth of March last, they bought up several very good Horses, and would then have imployed this Informant to have gone to Rixham Fair to have bought for them, where they also bought many more. And this Informant saith, they were the more earnest at that time to furnish themselves with as many Horses as by any means they could, because they did expect King James would be ready to Land here

by our Lady-day last, or soon after; as he this Informant hath several times heard them say amongst themselves he would.

And this Informant saith, that if a proper and secret Method be taken (and all notice thereof prevented) for the seizing of all Horses in Lancashire so provided and fit for Service, as aforesaid, in the hands of the Gentlemen before mentioned, there might be seized (he verily believes) five hundred very good horses.

Jurat' coram me, Jo. Womball.]
J. Trenchard.

After giving the aforement[d] Informations,

Captain Baker(1) with Messengers, together with the Informers and others, were sent from London to Lancashire. On or about the 8 or 9 of July 1694.

Captain Baker with 4 Messengers, to wit M[r] Morisco, M[r] Clerk, M[r] Sutton and M[r] Heywood, together with Lunt, Wombwell, On Monday 16 July, 1694.

(1) In his Letter to Sir John Trenchard, Ferguson makes it a charge against Trenchard:

1. That he hounded out his messengers armed with *blank warrants*, which was in itself an arbitrary measure, and of which they made as arbitrary an use.

2. That in some of those warrants the crimes of those who were apprehended in virtue of them were not specified, which was contrary both to the letter and spirit of the law.

3. That often when both persons and crimes were specified, that specification was made on *bare suspicion* only, unsupported with any proof or deposition upon oath, which form of commitment had been declared on argument contra legem terræ.

4. That in his warrants he assigned those matters for crimes which the law did not account sufficient either for seizing or detaining any person.

7. That under the pretence of seizing treasonable papers his officers made no difficulty in seizing and carrying off the title deeds of men's estates, their books of accounts, and letters concerning their private affairs: that they did this without numbering or marking the papers, or suffering the prisoners to do it, in consequence of which they had it in their power to create the crime they pretended to punish by intermixing papers of a dangerous tendency and making the prisoners answerable for them.

9. That the making gaols of messengers' houses, and converting messengers into gaolers, was illegal and a manifest violation of the birthright of the subject.

12. That the said secretary countenanced and abetted the subornation of infamous persons to swear innocent and peaceable persons out of their lives.

Wilson, M^r^ Taaffe, Parsons, Ellis, &c. went to Worsley, the L^d^ Willoughby's house, and there were directed by Capt^n^ Baker in what manner to proceed about searching the houses and taking up such persons as the Messengers were sent to apprehend, and take with them such Guards as Capt^n^ Baker directed.

19 July, 1694. M^r^ Clark the Messenger and M^r^ Lunt, together with 14 *Dutch*(1) Troopers, came to Lyme in Cheshire (M^r^ Legh's house) betwixt 6 and 7 of the clock in the morning; that the Messenger with one Oldham who was their Guide, with 2 or 3 Dutch Troopers, came up the great stairs in Lyme House and apprehended M^r^ Legh in his night gown, and the Messenger charged him with a warrant for high Treason, and carried him out of his dressing room to his closet, where stood M^r^ Lunt with 2 or 3 Dutchmen, and all then went into the closet. That the Messenger and Lunt searched thro' M^r^ Legh's papers from 7 till 12, and Lunt when he met with any paper that pleased him put it in his pocket, and from thence he carried M^r^ Legh down stairs into the parlour, and there set 2 Dutch Troopers to guard him whilst they searched every room and place in the house for arms, finding only a case of Pistols and a Carbine in M^r^ Legh's closet, which they carried away, and that night they took M^r^ Legh from his house and carried him to Knutsford guarded by the Messenger and 12 Troopers; that Lunt seized one of the best horses Mr. Legh had, and set his own saddle upon him and carried him quite away. That they carried M^r^ Legh to Chester Castle the next day, where he remained till the last day of August or the first day of September, and then he together with the L^d^ Molineux, S^r^ W^m^ Gerard, S^r^ Tho^s^ Clifton, Phillip Langton Esq: M^r^ Blundell and others, were carried from Chester to London guarded by 4 Messengers and 21 Dutch Troopers commanded by Capt^n^ Baker in person, and at S^t^ Giles's committed to the hands of the Messengers and there kept 3 days, and then brought to the Office of the Duke of Shrewsbury, principal Secretary of State, who examined M^r^ Legh and remanded him back to the Messengers for 3 days, and then committed him to the Tower.

(1) Ferguson, who alludes to the Dutch Troopers, says they wore blue cloaks and each carried a case of pistols.

That whilst Mr Legh was in the Tower and in the worst room in all the Tower, he had very hard usage, that his Lady at the first was denied either to see him or hear him speak.(1)

(1) I have succeeded in recovering from the Tower of London the following copy of Mr. Legh's commitment, with the entries relating to his imprisonment, and a few other notices of the event :—

These are in their Majesty's Names to Authorize you to receive and take into your Custody, the Body of Peter Leigh of Lyme Esqr, herewith sent you, being Charged before me for high Treason, in Levying *Warr* Against their Majestys, and Adhering to their Majesty's Enemys, and you are to keep him safe and close Until he shall be delivered by due Course of Law, and for so doing this shall be your *Warrant*,

Given at the Court at Whitehall the 12th day of September, 1694.

Signed

SHREWSBURY.

To

The Right Honble Robt Lord Lucas, Governor in Chief of the Tower or his Deputy.

Whitehall 17th Septr 1694.

My Lord

Her Majesty would have you permit Mrs Leigh and a Maid Servant to be with her husband Mr Leigh of Lyme in Case she shall be Willing to be Confined with him.

I am

My Lord

Your Lordship's Most obt Servant

SHREWSBURY.

Whitehall 24th Sept, 1694.

Her Majesty commands me to Acquaint your Lordship, with her pleasure that you allow Mr Leigh of Lyme such liberty of Walking Within the Tower at Convenient times as you shall Judge Consistant with his safe Keeping, and that care be taken he do not enter into Conversation at that time.

I am

My Lord

your Lordship's Most obt servant

SHREWSBURY.

To

The Lord Lucas

&c. &c. &c.

That old Madam Legh came under the window where Mr Legh lodged, and asking her son Mr Legh how he did, a Centinel with his Musket cocked said if she spoke another word he would shoot her. That Mr Legh had notice to prepare for his tryal at Chester, and came there guarded by a party of horse, the gentleman porter and the gentleman gaoler of the Tower, and with 2 Wardens, and

27th Septr 1694.

An order for Mr Leigh's Mother and Two Sisters to Visit him from the Lord Shrewsbury.

Whitehall 7th October 1694.

My Lord

Mr Leigh one of the Prisoners in the Tower, having Notice given him to prepare for his Tryall, in Order thereunto it is Her Majestys pleasure that your Lordship permit Sir Thomas Powis Sir Bartholomew Shore, and Mr Upton to have Access to the said Mr Leigh as his Councill, to advise him, and to be with him from time to time in private either singly or together, and Her Majesty is pleased to direct further, that Sir Thomas Chichely Mr Beresford Mr Banks Mr Masters, and The Lady Chichely Mrs Abigal Leigh be permited to see him from time to time at Convenient Hours either Singly or so Many of them together as your Lordship shall think fit provided it be in the presence of a Warder, or such other person as you shall Appoint.

I am
My Lord,
your Lordship's Most obt Servant
SHREWSBURY.

To
The Lord Lucas
&c. &c. &c.

In the *True History* &c. by R. K. (p. 263) there is a very curious affidavit of Thomas Clayton, in which he describes Madam Legh, the mother of Mr. Legh, with Mr. Beresford his steward, as being very active in obtaining evidence to defend him. In the interview he had with Mr. Legh, he describes him as a young gentleman, little of stature, and dressed in a morning gown.

Mr. Legh retained to his dying day a sense of the injustice to which he had been subjected, tempered with a christian spirit. In some instructions for his will, written with his own hand, he says, "I would have no monument set over me, only a plain brass nailed to the wall to express my innocency in that wicked conspiracy by false witnesses, imprisonments, and trials, in 1694 and 1696, and that I die a member of the Church of England, looking upon it to be the best and purest of Churches, and do most sincerely wish it may continue for ever." He survived the trial half a century, and was buried at Winwick 16th January 1744.

was committed to the Constable of Chester Castle, after which he was only called to the barr and discharged without Tryall.

Sir Thos Stanley was taken up at London by the King's Messenger, who carried him away to his the said Messenger's house, and after some time he was locked up and there kept many hours without seeing any person, so long that he was forced, after he had very often knocked and called to the house and none would answer or come to him, to call from his window to persons in the street to get somebody to come to him.

He after was examined by the Secretary, committed to the Tower, and brought down thence with others and carried with Mr Legh to Chester to be tryed there, and when the Judges came thither at the sitting of the Court, he was brought to the Bar and discharged without tryal.

Sir Wm Gerard (the same 17th of July that Mr Legh was taken up in Cheshire) was at his own house, Garswood in Lancashire, at 7 o'clock at night taken up by Mr Morisco a Messenger, accompanied by Mr Jno Taaffe and Jno Wombwell, attended by 8 Dutch Troopers. They suffered Sr Willm to tarry at his own house that night: and the Messenger the next day with 4 Dutch Troopers took him to Chester Castle, where he was kept prisoner 6 weeks and one day: and August 30th taken with the rest by above 20 Dutch Troopers towards London, whither they came the 5th of September. Sir William was taken to Morisco's house in Dartmouth St Westminster, and after 6 days confinement there brought before the Duke of Shrewsbury. His examination being short, he was remanded to the Messenger's house, and then at 12 at night brought to the Tower, and thence after 4 months' stay there was by the Tower Officers Major Haley and the Gentn Gaoler, and 16 of the Tower Warders and 32 of the Earl of Oxford's Troopers brought to Coventry, and there by a great party of Dutch Horse commanded by Major Haley brought to Manchester, and there delivered to the Sheriff of Lancashire (Thos Ashurst of Ashurst) on Tuesday Octr 16, 1694.

The Lord Molineux the same Tuesday July 17th 1694, at 8 or 9 in the morning, was made a prisoner by the Duke of Shrewsbury's warrant executed by Richd Heyward the King's Messenger, then accompanied by Geo: Wilson the Informer and Willm Barker(1) since made Post Master of Warrington, attended with a great Company of Dutch Troopers. At the same time the said Hayward and Barker strictly searched the house and all Cabinets and Boxes for papers, but found no arms or habiliments of War; 4 Horses valued at £120 they took. His Lordship was seized in bed, so indisposed in health as to be not then in a condition to be carried to Chester, so a Dutch Guard at his own house was set upon him, 5 or 6 or 7 men at a time, besides women belonging to those men, and so many horse all at free quarters from the 17th of July to the 28th of August, at which time his Lordship by the order of Captn Baker (tho' not then well) was taken to Chester, and great guards being set over him, he was lodged at the Raven till Thursday 30th August, and then with the Prisoners from the Castle set forward to London, not gentlemanly treated by the way. 5th September they came to London, where his Lordship was made a close Prisoner in the Messenger Haword's house, his fees were great and Mr Haword importunate for money. His Lordship was by his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury on the 10th of September examined, and on the 12th late at night carried to the Tower of London.

On Sunday July 15th at seven in the morning, being 2 days before the Gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire were taken up, Bartholomew Walmsley Esq: was taken up in London at his Lodgings in one Mr Pracer's house in Southampton St, by a Warrant from Sir J. Trenchard Secretary of State, executed by Mr

(1) This person, who appears to have at first resided at Hulme, near Warrington, is mentioned in the *True History* by R. K. (p. 137) as having the secretary of state's warrant to apprehend the witness John Taffe, but the latter had absconded aud could not be found. Mr. Barker was a Protestant, but his wife Agnes Barker was a Roman Catholic, as she herself states in her affidavit sworn 10th February 1695. — *Ibid.* p. 226.

Hopkins a Messenger, accompanied with 2 or 3 Constables and some others, and first carried to the said Hopkin's house near Charing Cross, and then to the house of one Kidson another Messenger in Barwick S^{t}, where he was kept till Tuesday the last day of that month, and then by the said Kidson brought to the Tower, where he continued till he was with the rest of those Prisoners brought down to Manchester to be tryed.

On Tuesday 17th July 1694, Sir Roland Stanley was taken up at his house, Hooton in Cheshire, by M^{r} Francis Jackson Post Master of Chester, who brought Sir Roland the same day to Chester Castle to M^{r} Booth keeper of the Gaol there, who demanding a Warrant for receiving and keeping S^{r} Roland, he was told by S^{r} Jn^{o} Manwaring, a deputy Lieutenant and Justice of Peace in Cheshire, that he ordered the said M^{r} Booth to receive and keep S^{r} Roland, and that his verbal order was sufficient. After which Sir Roland Stanley went to Sir John Manwaring desiring a copy of the Warrant by which he was seized, and to know by what authority he was committed. Sir Roland was thereupon shew'd the Duke of Shrewsbury's Warrant containing a charge of High Treason for levying War against their Majesties, and adhering to their Majesties' enemies, to secure S^{r} Roland in order to be brought before the Duke of Shrewsbury to be examined touching the premises. And by another hand additionally — "Or to M^{r} Francis Jackson Post Master of Chester." Sir Roland was kept at Chester Castle till 30th of August: and was then taken thence with the L^{d} Molineux and the other Gentlemen towards London, guarded by a squadron of Dutch horse, commanded by Capt^{n} Baker; they came to London September 5th, he was lodged at one M^{r} Beak's a Messenger's house which fronts Warwick S^{t}. Sept^{r} 8th brought before the Duke of Shrewsbury and by his Grace examined, and on the 12th committed to the Tower, and afterwards carried down with the rest, and with a ceremony inviting Spectators, guarded to Manchester, and there delivered to the High Sheriff of Lancashire to be kept and brought to his Tryall.

On Tuesday, 17th July, 1694, Sir Thos Clifton was taken up at a place called Wray Green, by Mr Sutton, one of the King's Messengers, conducted by one Dandy and guarded by a party of Dutch Troopers. They brought him that night to the Market Town of Kirkham, and the next day carried him to his own house, Litham Hall, and there stay'd all night. The 3rd day they took him to Wiggan, and on Friday the 20th of July they carried him to Chester Castle, where he remained prisoner till he with the rest were taken to London, whither being brought, Sir Thomas was for some days kept in a Messenger's house, and after being examined by the Duke of Shrewsbury, was sent to the Tower of London, and there with the other Prisoners brought to Manchester, and there tryed for his life.

Friday, July 27th, 1694. Philip Langton, Esq., was gone to Wapra(1) in Flintshire, to the burial of his Sister in Law, and was there taken up by Mr Morisco the Messenger alone, and the same day carried to Chester Castle, and there kept till Thursday, 30th of August, and then brought by Captn Baker and his Dutch Guards to London on Wednesday Septr 5th, and there kept at one Beak's a Messenger's house, in Warwick St, near Golden Square, in St James's, till Tuesday the 11th, which day, being brought before the Duke of Shrewsbury, he was thence taken back, and the next day, Septr 12th, brought to Newgate, where he and Mr Blundell remained prisoners in diverse rooms till Wednesday the 10th of October, and were then brought down to be tryed with the rest of the Gentlemen at Manchester.

Monday, 30th July, 1694. About half an hour past 5 in the morning, Mr Francis Clark, Mr Richard Howard and Mr Peter Morisco, three of the King's Messengers, accompanyed with John

(1) Wepre is near the line of the great turnpike road from Chester to Flint; it is about four miles from the latter place, and two miles from the King's Ferry. The hall, which is of venerable age, is still standing, and is probably the same place in which Mr. Langton was taken.

Lunt, John Wombwell and Christopher Ellis, came to Mr Blundell's house, the Hall at Crosby; and young Mr Blundell being the first person the Messengers there met with, Clark and Howard, with pistols in their hands, asked him if Esquire Blundell was stirring; he told them he thought he was not; they then required him to bring them to Esquire Blundell's chamber, which he forthwith did and called to his father, who arose and unlocked his door. Then Howard the Messenger going into the old Gentleman's chamber, desired Clark to go call up some of their Company, who accordingly went, and young Mr. Blundell followed him down and went away, leaving the house, which was forthwith very strictly searched; and one case of Pistols, two Swords and one birding piece, seven horses and 2 hackney saddles were taken and carried to Captn Baker at Wiggan, but old Mr Blundell, who had been many years very lame, they did not think fitt to take with them. And at young Mr Blundell's return, his horses being taken, he went to his neighbour Mr Norris, then at Liverpool, who gave young Mr Blundell to the care of Mr Maudit, then Mayor of Liverpool, with whom he did and must stay till Captn Baker's coming thither the next day. Then he (instead of his father as the likelier of the two) tho' he also is very lame, was sent to Chester Castle, and then with the rest of the Prisoners taken to London, and there kept at Kidson's the Messenger's house in Warwick St, and after one week's confinement there taken before the Duke of Shrewsbury and then committed and taken to Newgate.(1)

On or about the 30th of August 1694, Willm Dicconson Esq., in a little street not far from Fetter Lane, was without any Warrant apprehended by Lunt, Wombwell, and Wilson, 3 Witnesses, and

(1) Both Mr. Blundell the father and Mr. Blundell the son bore the Christian name of William, and the son having been thus singularly apprehended in the place of his father, the mistake seems to have been thought not worth correcting, and he was accordingly indicted and tried instead of his father. The latter had his thigh broken at the siege of Lathom House, fighting on the royal party. A letter printed by Mr. Baines, vol ii. p. 216, alludes to Mr. Blundell's poverty as the result of his adherence to the cause of royalty.

one Morisco a Messenger. He did not know them, nor did they well know him: there was a Warrant against Mr Dicconson in the hands of another Messenger, Mr Hopkins. Mr Dicconson several times demanded to see their Warrant, but Morisco the Messenger did deny to shew it, having indeed none to shew: however Morisco carried Mr Dicconson to his house, and he was afterwards taken to Mr Hopkins the Messenger's house, where he was kept till the 28th of September with out being examined, but then being examined, he was committed to the Tower, and there remained till he was brought down with the rest to be tryed at Manchester.

Here followeth

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRYALLS(1) AT MANCHESTER, COM: LANCASTER, IN OCTOBER 1694,

OF

Caryll Lord Molineux.
Sir Willm Gerard,
Sir Roland Stanley, } Baronets;
Sir Thos Clifton,
Bartholomew Walmsley,
Willm Dicconson, } Esquires;
Philip Langton,

AND

Willm Blundell, Gentleman;

with observations.

Sunday the 14th, Mr Baile one of the Solicitors against the Prisoners, Mr Winter Clerk in the King's Bench Office, Westminster, who came to act as Clerk of the Arraignments at Manchester,

(1) The editor of a local chronology, called the *Manchester Recorder*, has fallen into a singular mistake in his notice of these trials. He says: "1694. Sir Giles Eyre held a court at Manchester for the trial of certain influential parties implicated in the Lancashire plot in favour of King James II., amongst whom were

Captn Baker, who was one of the witnesses and chief manager of the rest, John Lunt sometime an Alehouse keeper in the parish of St James, Westminster, another of the witnesses, George Wombwell a broken Carrier, another of the witnesses, with others, came into Manchester in order to this tryall.(1)

Tuesday 16th.(2) The Prisoners before mentioned, with others, were brought into Manchester.

Wednesday 17th. Four Judges, viz. Sr Giles Eyre,(3) Sr Jno Turton,(4) Sr Jno Powell,(5) and Sr Samuel Eyre,(6) came into

H. Willoughby, Ralph Ashton, James Holt, Thomas Lever, James Yates, Nicholas Starkie, Henry Farrington, and *Joseph Horton.*" It so happens, however, that these were not the names of any of the parties accused, but of the justices who, at the adjourned Quarter Sessions of the peace held at Manchester, 18th October, 1689, wrote a letter to the secretary of state respecting the Lancashire plot. — *True Hist.* p. 19.

(1) Oldmixon, not a very impartial authority, says (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. iii. p. 99) that when the trial came on at Manchester the king's witnesses were threatened to be stoned, and had much ado to get safely in and out of court, a popish mob at Manchester being encouraged by the tories to insult them. Smollett (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 238) agrees in this account of the disposition of the populace to do violence to the witnesses, which he ascribes to the effect of Robert Ferguson's letter to Sir John Trenchard, then in everybody's hands, but he says that the crown witnesses were saved by the interference of the prisoners' friends. All accounts agree in representing the crown witnesses as being exposed to the popular anger, but it must be quite clear that the anger was very general, and was not confined to the Roman Catholic party alone.

(2) The trial is thus alluded to in *Newcome's Autobiography*, p. 283: "Oct. 16th (Tuesday). The high sheriff brought in the prisoners to be tried at Manchester. The next day I was a while in the sessions house, and the next day, and heard the charge, but was weary. 20th. The popish gentlemen were tried to-day and acquitted." One would have supposed that the trial of so many persons of rank, some of them his neighbours, on a charge which affected their lives, would have proved sufficiently exciting to prevent weariness in the old divine.

(3) Sir Giles Eyre was made a Judge of the King's Bench May 8th 1689.

(4) Sir John Turton was created Baron of the Exchequer May 9th 1689. He was some years afterwards transferred to the King's Bench.

(5) Sir John Powell was created Baron of the Exchequer October 31st 1691, and was made a Judge of the Common Pleas October 26th 1695.

(6) Sir Samuel Eyre was made a Judge of the King's Bench February 19th 1694.

Manchester, with whom were joined in Commission, that sate with them in the execution thereof, Hugh Willoughby, Sr Thos Stanley Bart., Sr Edwd Moseley Knt and Mr Sargant Moor.(1)

The same day came into Manchester their Majesties' Counsell in order to this tryall, viz. Sr Willm Williams,(2) Mr Serjt Gold,(3) Mr Hollis, Mr Naps, and Sr Willm Williams' Son, and with these Gentlemen Mr Aaron Smith,(4) Solicitor to the Lords of the

Three of the above were of the number of those lawyers whom Oldmixon says his majesty in 1689 selected to be judges as most eminent for learning, abilities, and integrity.—(Vol. iii. p. 11.)

(1) Roger Moore, who was called to the degree of the coif 22nd April 1692.

(2) He was made Solicitor General on the 13th of December, 1687.

(3) Afterwards made Sir Henry Gould, and advanced to be a Judge of the King's Bench on the 14th January 1699. On the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick in 1696, Serjeant Gould attended as leading counsel at the bar of the House of Commons in support of the bill.

(4) The same whose pardon had been obtained from King James by the intercession of Penn.— Dixon's *Life of Penn*, p. 276. Mr. Aaron Smith had been deeply engaged in the Rye House plot.

The following account of Mr. Aaron Smith's becoming bail for Lunt on a charge for bigamy is introduced as a specimen of the style in which Ferguson wrote:

"That which most signally discovers both the Infamy of Lunt, and the Combination which some of the Ministers and other Inferiour Officers of the Government are confederated in for destroying innocent Men, is, That the Rogue standing indicted for Felony for marrying a Second Wife, while the First, by whom he hath two Children is still alive, and for which being apprehended the 2nd of this present October, by a Legal Bench-Warrant, granted under the Hands and Seals of Mr. Prideaux and Mr. Eyton, two Justices of Peace; Aaron Smith did so hector both my Lord Mayor and the Recorder, by telling them what a necessary and useful Instrument this Rascal was of the State, and how much they wanted him to support the Belief of the Plot, and for the Conviction of those Prisoners that were to be tryed for High Treason; that those two Magistrates suffered themselves against all Law and Justice to be huffed into a Complyance of admitting him to Bail. And because none, who had any Reputation to lose, could be found to be Sureties for a Fellow that is perjuriously engaged in making a Plot, where all wise and discerning Men (save those of the Sanguinary Club at Powis-House) both know and acknowledge that there is none, Aaron himself, who is sufficiently dipt in all the parts of that Villainy, together with one Culliford (who waits constantly upon Aaron in the Quality of his Follower, and whom he employs to run into all Companies to know what is said of him) became Bail for the Rascal. And because the Title of Labourer, or the Stile of Victualler, by which Lunt designs himself in a Judgment granted under his Hand and Seal, were too mean for one of King W's Witnesses

Treasury and chief Solicitor against the Prisoners, and the same day came into the Town Mr Urian Brereton another of the witnesses. The Prisoners had great guards, and the Officers and Attendants upon the Judges were many. This day two of the Judges only, Sr Giles Eyre and Sr Jno Turton, went into Court(1) at Manchester and read their Commission.

Thursday 18th. All the Judges sate, and in the afternoon before the Grand Jury were called, Sr Giles Eyre, Chief Justice, there appointed the statute 3rd of Henry VIII. ca. 12 (intitled the act that Justices may return impanells for the King by their directions) to be read, which was openly done. Then were the Grand Jury called and sworn, viz:

Thomas Norris of Speak Esq.(2)	H. Hulton of Hulton Esq.
Josh: Horton of Chadderton Esq.	Bar. Hesketh of Northmeols Esq.
Rd Fleetwood of Leyland Esq.	

to go by, and too contemptible for a person of Aaron's Degree and Haughtiness to own under either of those Characters; he caused insert him into the Bail Bond by the Title of Gentleman. And undoubtedly Mr. Smith who acteth as invested with a power to dispose of Men's Lives as he pleaseth, may confer Honours on whom he will. And having made a Gentleman of a Roguish Peasant, he may in a little time challenge the creating whom he thinks meet Barons and Earls: Seeing these are more indebted to Inclination and Humour for their Creation, than any are, or can be in their being made or rendred Gentlemen. For as King James the First said pleasantly enough to a certain Person that had desired to be made a Gentleman; Friend, I can make you a Knight, but it is not in my Power to make you a Gentleman."— *Letter to Sir J. Trenchard.*

When Colledge the joiner was tried at Oxford in 34 Car. II., Mr. Aaron Smith put a libel against the government into his hands, for which he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be pilloried and fined £200.

(1) There was a public building called the New Fleet erected as a prison for recusants in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, near Hunt's Bank, which is now the site of the Castle Inn. — *Hist. Coll. Ch. of Man*, vol. i. p. 110. But this important trial took place not in that building but another, called the Sessions' House, which formerly stood in the square opposite the present Exchange, and of which the site is marked upon the map prefixed to Palmer's *Siege of Manchester.*

(2) If this was the Mr. Norris who was joined in the commission of the 22nd March 1692 (page 2, *ante*), he could hardly be said to be quite impartial as a grand juror.

Jn° Hopwood of Hopwood Esq.	Jos. Hoop of Manchester Gent.
Tho^{s} Bradshaw of Lumn Esq.	Alex. Radcliffe of Leigh Esq.
Ralf. Livesay of Livesay Esq.	Andrew Dandy of Lostock.
Walter Frost of Cockerham Esq.	Jn° Johnson of Westhoughton.
Robert Hyde of Denton Esq.	Rob^{t} Roscoe of Bolton.
Jos: Gregg of Chamberhall Esq.	Will^{m} Lowe of Kirkham Gent^{n}.

Sir Giles gave the Charge only touching High Treason, being, as he said, tho' not the extent yet the only intent of their Commission, and in an harangue to the Jury, Court, and Country, he said that their occasion of coming at that unusual time, armed with that Commission, was from Informations which had been received of the Treachery and treasonable practices of their own countrymen against the Government of their present Majesties, in which Protestants of the Church of England, as they call themselves, were mingled with Papists as the Iron and the Clay in Nebuchadnezzar's Image, and had jointly conspired the subversion of our established quiet and good government.

Having spoke to this effect, the grand Jury withdrew and the Court adjourned.

In the afternoon, at the first sitting of the Court, eleven witnesses, each of them indorsed on four several bills, were sworne, and the bills sent to the Jury, M^{r} Winter being with the Jury to read the bills. After some time the Grand Jury brought in a bill against Sir Will^{m} Gerard,(1) and returned to consider of the rest. Judge Eyre then demanded of the Gaoler — Have you Sir Will^{m} Gerard in your Custody? Who answering he had, the Judge ordered him to be brought to the Bar, which after some time was done. Sir Will^{m} Gerard was arraigned; the inditement opened against him by Mr. Winter, first in English, and then the bill at Sir William's request was read in Latin, to which he pleaded Not

(1) This Sir William Gerard, I apprehend, was the fifth baronet of the family, and the grandson of that Sir William Gerard, Governor of Denbigh Castle for Charles I., and who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Cuthbert Clifton and the sister of four brothers who all died gallantly fighting for Charles I.

guilty. The substance of his charge is that he the first day of February in the 3rd year of the reign of our Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary over England, &c. at Manchester Com. Lancaster, falsely, wickedly, and traiterously did procure, obtain, receive, and accept a commission, or a writing purporting to be a commission from James the 2nd, late King of England, constituting him Sr Willm Gerard to be a Colln of Horse in an army to be by him and other their Majesties' enemies raised with intent to levy war in this Kingdom under colour and pretence of restoring the late King James. The inditement being very long,(1) and being

(1) There seems to have been a political trial of rioters at Lancaster in the time of George I., in which Dr. Owen of Warrington was in some way implicated, as appears from the following letter of J. Goulbourn, steward of the Legh family at Warrington, which shows in a striking manner the hardship inflicted at that time by the length of indictments :

"Honord Sr

I came last night from Lancastr And can onely informe you that the Manchester rioters have come of better than was expectd Coronll Siddall as the call him is orderd to stand in the pillary, 3 market days att Lancaster and to be imprisoned a month for saying God dam K. G. And a boy of aboute 18 years old a presbeterion to stand with him for saying God dam the church and yt he hoped all churchmen would goe to hell as also one othr for pulling down Monton meeting house near Eccles. There are also indictments found against Major Wyrrel, Jebb, Holbrook, and some others of that gange ; there was also indictements brought against Mr Ja: Garthside and 26 more of the towne of Manchester, but these were all slasht. We have also a bill found against Owen our Presbeterion minister of our towne for publishing that book which I sent you by your brother Legh which will whip his pockett for the coppey will cost him 30l or 40l the haveing sett forth the whole book in the bill of indictement.

I have severall other matters to releat on this acct which I omitt untill I wait on you, which Mr. Stirrup and myselfe have concluded uppon for Fryday next therfor beg to subscribe myselfe

Yor most obed'
Serv. to comand
J. Goulborne.

Wee have no newss from Scotland that can be depended uppon.

For
The Honord P Legh Esq
Att
Lyme."

This letter is without date, but it was probably written in 1714.

the same in all the forms of impeachment as the rest are which are set forth at large in another inditement against S^r^ Roland Stanley,(1) Sir Tho^s^ Clifton, and 3 others that were arraigned after S^r^ Will^m^ but first tried, therefore for brevity's sake the forms in this are referred. But to proceed — Sir Will^m^ Gerard after having pleaded Not guilty, prayed time till Saturday to prepare for his Tryall, and that he might have a copy of the Inditement and of the panell. The Judge told him a Copy of the Inditement was not allowable by Law, but a copy of the impanell he should have, which the Sheriff was order'd to give him before 11 o'clock that night. After this the Grand Jury brought in two bills more. One bill against Sir Roland Stanley, Sir Tho^s^ Clifton Baronets. Will^m^ Dicconson,(2) Philip Langton,(3) Esquires, and Will^m^ Blundell Gent^n^. Another bill against Bartholomew Walmsley Esq.(4)

(1) Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton and Storeton, Baronet, the second son and ultimately the heir of Sir William Stanley and Charlotte, daughter of Richard Viscount Molyneux, was born in June 1653. He married Anne, daughter of Clement Paston, and died May 1737. His wife died March 13th 1693, very shortly before the period of this trial.

(2) This is the William Dicconson of whom Mr. Baines (vol. iii. p 480) says that he was convicted of high treason in the reign of William III. The mistake arose probably from his being implicated in the present charge.

(3) Philip Langton Esq. was the head of the family of Langton of Lowe in Hindley. He married Elizabeth daughter of Edward Pennant Esq. of Bagillt. At the time of this trial he was sixty-six years of age. The moat and the bridge across it, with an ornamental gateway probably older than the time of this trial, are all that now remains of the mansion of the Langtons of Lowe.

(4) Bartholomew Walmsley succeeded to the Dunkenhalgh estate on the death of his father Richard Walmsley in 1679, his two elder brothers Thomas and Richard having both died, the former at Paris in 1677, and the latter at Rome. Bartholomew survived the present trial about seven years, and died in January 1701. He was a lineal descendant of Sir Thomas Walmsley the Judge, the first purchaser of Dunkenhalgh, who died 10 Jac. I. Like the rest of the accused, Mr. Walmsley was descended from a family who had suffered in the cause of royalty under Charles I. and in the subsequent troubles. His father Richard Walmsley was one of those Lancashire men who were to have been included in the order of the Royal Oak after the Restoration of Charles II. — *Hist. Whall.* pp. 408, 409.

According to Mr. Ferguson the conviction of Mr. Walmsley was to have been made secure after Mr. Lunt's own manner. Mr. Lunt attempted to suborn one of

Whereupon those 6 prisoners were sent for, and the first 5 arraigned together and charged thereupon by M^r^ Winter, who each of them pleaded not guilty. They also prayed time as Sir Will^m^ Gerard had done, the inditement against them having also been read both in English and Latin.

The Indictment begins as follows:

The Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen upon their oath present — That whereas an open war and notoriously public betwixt the most serene illustrious and most excellent Princes our Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the Faith and Lewis the French King for divers years there had been and at that time was both by Sea and Land had carried on and continued during all which time the said Lewis the French King and his subjects have been and at that time were foes and enemies of our said Lord the King and Lady the Queen and their Subjects, One Sir Roland Stanley late of Hooton in the County of Chester Baronet Sir Tho^s^ Clifton late of the parish of Kirkham in the County of Lancaster Baronet, Will^m^ Dicconson late of the parish of Eccleston in the County of Lancaster aforesaid Esq. and Will^m^ Blundell late of the parish of Sefton in the County of Lancaster aforesaid Gent^n^ — subjects and each of them being subjects of the s^d^ Lord the King and Lady the Queen of this Kingdom of England the premises well knowing and each of them knowing — the fear of God in their hearts not having — nor any of them having neither weighing nor any of them weighing the duty of their Allegiance but being by the Instigation of the Devill moved and seduced and each of them being moved and seduced as

those persons who were carried to Chester gaol, and importuned him under promise of great rewards to swear that he had received money of Mr. Walmsley for carrying on and promoting the service of King James; and upon his answering that he had never seen Mr. Walmsley, Mr. Lunt had nevertheless the impudence to tempt and entice him to own to Mr. Lunt and his accomplice what was delivered to him, and that then they two would swear to it, and excuse the person whom they accosted from being an evidence. — *Letter to Sir John Trenchard.*

false Traytors against the most excellent and the most clement Princes William and Mary then and now King and Queen of England &c. their supreme true lawfull and undoubted Lord and Lady that cordial affection and true and due obedience fidelity and allegiance which every subject of them the said Lord the King and Lady the Queen towards them the King and Queen to bear and of right ought to bear withdrawing and all together to extinguish intending and meaning and with all their might devising and each of them devising the government of this Kingdom of England under them our Lord and Lady the King and Queen of right happily and duly established all together to subvert change and alter and their faithful subjects and freemen of this Kingdom of England into an intolerable and most miserable bondage to bring and to enslave and subjugate to the aforesaid French King the first day of February in the 3rd year of the reign of the said Lord the King and Lady the Queen and divers other days and times at Manchester in the County of Lancaster aforesaid falsely maliciously diabollically and trayterously have compassed imagined invented devised and intended the said Lord and Lady the King and Queen their supreme true and Lawfull Lord and Lady off and from the regall state to the honour and power crown and empire and government of this Kingdom of England to depose throw down and all together to deprive and them the sd Lord and Lady the King and Queen to death and finall destruction to put and bring. And the aforesaid Lewis the French King by Arms Soldiers and Bodies of armed Men and his Subjects to this Kingdom of England to be invaded vanquished overcome and subdued to move incite procure and aid and a miserable slaughter amongst faithfull Subjects of the sd King and Queen throughout this whole Kingdom to make and cause. And the said Sir Roland Stanley Sir Thomas Clifton William Dicconson Philip Langton and William Blundell to the sd foes and enemies of them the said Lord and Lady the King and Queen then and there during the said War trayterously have been adhereing and aiding the aforesaid heinous most wicked and diabolical Treasons and treasonable compassings inventions inten-

tions and purposes aforesaid thoroughly to fulfill and accomplish and to effect to bring in prosecution performance and execution of that trayterous adherence, The said Sir Roland Stanley Sir Thos Clifton Willm Dicconson Philip Langton and William Blundell as such false traytors during the said War to wit on the 1st day of February in the 3rd year aforesaid at Manchester aforesaid in the County aforesaid and divers other days and times as well before as after maliciously advisedly secretly and trayterously and by force and arms and amongst themselves and with divers other false traytors to the Jury unknown did meet together propose contrive consult consent and agree to procure the said Lewis the French King and his subjects and then and as yet foes and enemies to the said Lord the King and Lady the Queen that now are and very many other ill disposed persons to the said enemies adhering (to the Jury unknown) the Kingdom of England to invade and vanquish, And to levy procure and prepare great numbers of armed men troops and companies against the said Lord the King and Lady the Queen that now are to rise up and be trained and with those foes and enemies at and upon such their invasion and entrance into this Kingdom of England to join and raise rebellion and war against the sd King and Queen within this Kingdom of England to make levy and carry on the sd Lord the King and Lady the Queen so as aforesaid to depose and them to put to death and further amongst themselves and with the sd persons and false traytors them treasonably have consulted consented and agreed and each of them have consulted consented and agreed to send certain persons (to the Jurors unknown) as Messengers into the Kingdom of France in parts beyond the seas intelligence and notice of such their treasonable intentions and adherings of the persons and traytors aforesaid and in all things to the foes and enemies of their adherents to give and send and them to inform of other particular things and circumstances thereunto relating as all intelligence from them of such their intentions and of other matters and things concerning the Premises to receive and to those the said traytors in this Kingdom of England to signify report and

the same day and year last aforesaid and long afterwards there secretly maliciously and trayterously have maintained sustained and kept in pay and have had in readiness and every of them hath maintained sustained and in pay kept and in readiness hath had to the intent and purposes aforesaid. And further the aforesaid first day of February in the 3d year aforesaid at Manchester aforesaid very many arms rapiers pistolls swords trumpets for war and kettle drums and other warlike munitions things belonging to War and military instruments falsely maliciously trayterously and secretly did buy gather together and procure and cause to be bought gathered together obtained and procured and in their custody have had and kept and each of them hath obtained bought gathered and to be obtained and procured hath caused and in their custody hath had and kept with intention the same to use in the said invasion war and rebellion against the said Lord the King and Lady the Queen that now are them the said King and Queen off and from the regall State and Crown and Empire of this Kingdom of England to depose cast down and deprive and them to put to death. And the intentions and purposes of them Sr Roland Stanley Sr Thos Clifton Willm Dicconson Philip Langton and Willm Blundell aforesaid to fulfill perfect and bring to pass against the Duty of their Allegiance contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King and Lady the Queen that now are their Crown and Dignity and against the form of the Statute in that case made and provided &c.

The Indictment in Latin with the Stile of the Session prefixed to it begins as follows:

Memorand: q̃d ad Sessiõ dñi regis et Dnæ rẽnæ de Oyer et terminer tenť p Com: Paľ Lanc. apud Mancestriã in Com: Le Die Mercurii decimo septimo die Octobris Ann: Reg: dñi Gulielmi et dñe Marie dei gra: Ange Scotie et Francie et Hibernie regis et Rẽnæ fidei defensoř &c. sexto coram Egidio Eyre miľ uñ Justič dčor. dñi Regis et dñe reginæ ad pľita coram ip̃is Rege et Rẽnæ tenend assigñ: Johe Turton miľ et Johe Powell mill. duobus Baroñ Scacč dčor dñi Regis et dñe Rẽne apud Westminr et Samuel Eyre

mil: uñ aŧ Justic̃ dcōr dñi Regis et dñe Rene ad p̃lita coram ip̃is Rege et Rēne tenend assign̄ et aŧ sociis suis Justic. et Commissionar — &c.

After this arraignment and pleading they likewise prayed to have a copy of the panell, which was ordered, viz. one Copy for all the prisoners.

Then Mr Walmsley was in like manner arraigned and charged, his bill being read both in English and Latin. The substance of the charge was, That he at Manchester in the County of Lancaster the 1st year of the reign of our Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary over England &c. did falsely wickedly and trayterously procure obtain receive and accept a Commission or writing purporting itself to be a Commission under and from James 2nd late King of England constituting him the said Bartholomew Walmsley to be a Coll[l] of Horse in an army to be by him and other their Majesties' enemies raised with intent to levy War in this Kingdom under pretence of restoring the late King James and for that he had raised and levied and armed men to assist in an invasion and rebellion against our supreme true and lawful and undoubted Lord and Lady William and Mary King and Queen of England them from the Royall State Crown and Empire of this Kingdom of England to depose and deprive and them to put to death against the duty of his allegiance &c., being as general and in the like form as Sir Roland Stanley's &c. at large before set down. He prayed time and a copy of the Panell, as the rest before had done, but, before he pleaded, took this exception upon the Indictment, that he in the indictment was named to be of the Parish of Church, whereas there was no such Parish. The Judges directed if it were so that he must plead it in abatement, and plead over in chief to the indictment "Not guilty," and the Court gave him time 'till the next day to consider of it, and if he did insist upon it, to have his plea drawn up in forme, assigning him for Counsell upon his prayer Sir Christopher Greenfield and Mr Upton.

Friday the 19th. Forenoon, a bill against the Lord Moli-

neux(1) was brought, his Lordship sent for, arraigned, and pleaded "Not guilty." The substance of his charge is, That he at Manchester in the county of Lancaster the first day of February in the year of the reign of our Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary over England &c. the third did falsely wickedly and trayterously procure obtain receive and accept a Commission or writing purporting itself a Commission under and from James 2nd late King of England constituting him Lord Caryll Molineux Viscount Mariburg of the Kingdom of Ireland to be Governor of Liverpool in the County of Lancaster in the Kingdom of England the same to keep under and for King James. And for he the said Lord Molineux had raised and armed men to keep the same and to make War and raise Rebellion against their present Majesties King William and Queen Mary in this Kingdom of England and them to depose and put to death contrary to the duty of his allegiance &c. This in short is the substance, but his Lordship's charge was as generall and in the same form as the rest before set down: he also prayed time and a copy of the Panell as the rest had done, and presented a petition, which was read, wherein his Lordship prayed that in regard of the defects of his memory and the hardness of his hearing he might have Counsell or his Sollicitor to assist him at his tryall, which the Judge Sir Giles Eyre say'd could not be allow'd him by law.(2)

(1) This was Caryll Molyneux, who, with his elder brother, Richard second Viscount Molyneux, at the beginning of the great civil wars espoused the royal cause, raising two regiments of horse and foot with which they served during the war, and were at the surrender of Oxford. They also attended Charles II. in his March from Scotland to Worcester, and fought in that battle. They afterwards made their escape, and Richard Viscount Molyneux dying soon afterwards without issue, Caryll succeeded to the title and estate as third Viscount Molyneux. During the civil wars he was outlawed by parliament and not allowed to compound for his estate; but ultimately, by the exercise of some interest and the payment of an excessive fine, he was restored to his estate and lived there to a great age. James II. constituted him Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lancaster. He survived this trial only about four years, and died at Croxteth 2nd February 1698/9. — Baines, vol. iv. p. 205.

(2) Our law in its present state may be contrasted very advantageously with the law as delivered by Sir Giles Eyre.

After which Mr. Walmsley was sent for, as also the other five that were in one indictment, and brought to the Bar. The Court then demanded of Mr Walmsley if he did insist upon his plea, bidding him advise with his Counsell and to do it at his perill, whereupon Mr Walmsley waved it, and then pleaded "Not guilty" as the rest had done.

After which the Court did demand of Sir Roland Stanley, Sir Thos Clifton, Mr Dicconson, Mr Langton and Mr Blundell whether they would be tried together or apart, saying it was in the power of the King's Counsell whether way to try them, but it was proposed by the court to try them all 5 together if they would but in all challenge 35 peremptorily, to which they agreed, and then they were bid prepare for their tryall the next day, and then all six were taken out of Court, after which upon Mr Aaron Smith's motion in Court that there were not full four score in all returned upon the impanell, which might not be sufficient, because the Prisoners might challenge with cause. Thereupon the Court ordered the Sheriffs immediately to summon 40 more at the least, and that a copy of that new return should be sent by the Sheriff to the Prisoners that night. And the Judge did direct the depy Clerk of the Crown that no subpœna should be granted for summoning witnesses for the prisoners, but a copy of such witnesses' names should be presently given to Mr Aaron Smith. Then the Court adjourned 'till afternoon, and in the afternoon 2 Judges only came into Court, and without doing any business adjourned till 7 next morning.

Saturday 20th. By seven o'clock in the morning all the Judges were sitting, and Sir Roland Stanley, Sir Thos Clifton, Mr Dicconson, Mr Langton, Mr Blundell, the 5 indicted in one bill were brought to the Bar; after the long panell was called over, and the Prisoners bid by the Clerk of the Crown to look after their Challenges. The Challenges were made in manner following till 12 were called by each side allowed:

Challenged for the King and Queen without shewing any cause.	*By each side allowed.*	*Challenged by the Prisoners.*
1 S[r] Edw[d] Chisenhall K[nt] a member of Parliament and Justice of Peace.	JURORS.	9 Ralph Egerton Esq.
2 Will[m] Farington Esq. Justice of Peace.	18 Jn[o] Lightbourn.	11 Rich[d] Longworth Esq. Justice of Peace.
3 Law[ce] Rawstorne Esq. a Coll[l] of Militia, a dep[y] Lieu[t] and Justice of Peace.	21 Risley Brown.	13 Alex[r] Hesketh Esq.
4 Tho[s] Bradell Esq. Justice of Peace.	23 Cuthbert Holland.	24 H. Dicconson Gent.
5 Jn[o] Rigby Esq. Jus[e] of Peace.	27 Abraham Townley.	25 Jon: Green Gent.
6 Rob[t] Maud Esq. Justice of Peace.	30 Will[m] Whalley.	26 Edw[d] Taylor Gent.
7 John Veal Esq. Jus[e] of Peace.	31 Christopher Roby.	29 Andrew Stones Gent.
8 Jonathan Blackburne Esq. Justice of Peace.	33 Will[m] Patten.	34 John Earle Gent.
10 Tho[s] Shierson Esq. Justice of Peace.	41 Francis Davenport.	35 John Hamond Gent.
12 Will[m] Molineux Esq.	44 Richard Heap.	36 Edw[d] Roscoe Gent.
14 Geo: Farington Esq.	45 Hugh Hulme.	37 Rob[t] Gartside Gent.
15 Will[m] Legh Gent.	52 Francis Meadowcroft.	38 Geo: Duerden Gent.
16 Jonathan Cave Gent.	55 Rich[d] Percival.	39 Ralph Sandiford Gent.
17 John Clayton of Sharrock Green.		40 James Hilton Gent.
19 Will[m] Critchloe Gent.		42 James Johnson Gent.
20 Tho[s] Loxam Gent.		43 Jn[o] Warmingham Gent.
22 Jn[o] Clayton of Little Harwood Gent[n].		46 Nathaniel Walker Gent.
28 Jn[o] Grimbalston Gent.		47 Edward Greaves Gent.
49 Henry Parker Gent.		48 George Smith Gent.
54 Sam[l] Drinkwater Gent.		50 James Moss Gent.
		51 John Diggle Gent.
		53 John Green Gent.

The 12 unexcepted Jurors being all sworn, the Indictment read, and the Jury charged according to common form by the Clerk of the Crown, Mr Williams as youngest Counsell for the King and Queen thus opened the Indictment, viz.:

The Bill sets forth that whereas for these certain years past there hath been and still is an open and notorious War betwen their Majesties King William and Queen Mary and Lewis the French King, during which time the French King and his Subjects were and are enemies of their Majesties' Kingdom, and the Prisoners, knowing thereof and being seduced by the Devil, have designed and endeavoured to subvert and overthrow the Government of this Kingdom as it is now happily established, and to reduce us to a miserable servitude and bondage under the French King, and to depose our gracious King and Queen from their regall dignity, Crown and Government, and to bring them to death and utter destruction, and to encourage the said French King to invade this Kingdom with armed Troops and to procure a most miserable slaughter to be made throughout this Kingdom, and that these gentlemen with other false traytors did maliciously consult, declare and agree to send messengers beyond the sea to bring in open enemies into this Kingdom, and for this purpose accepted of Commissions from the late King James, Sr Roland Stanley to be Coll[l] of Horse, Sr Thos Clifton to be Coll[l] of Horse, Mr Dicconson to be Lieutenant Coll[l], Mr Langton and Mr Blundell to be Majors, and further, that they encouraged many to be Soldiers under them and assist them in this their trayterous design contrary to their allegiance, for which these Gentlemen the Prisoners at the Bar stand indicted of High Treason, and having pleaded "Not guilty," if these their practices be proved you must find the Prisoners guilty.

Mr Serj[t] Gold the King's Serjeant thus spoke:

Gentlemen of the Jury.

I am of Counsell in this case on behalf of the King and Queen. These 5 Gentlemen, Sir Roland Stanley, Sir Thos Clifton,

and the other 3 before mentioned, stand charged with High Treason, such Treason as at once strikes at the overthrow of King, Kingdom, and Government, and also of all our Laws, such Laws as these very Gentlemen are secured by to have a fair tryall, and they are brought down to their own country to be tryed by their own countrymen. The Gentlemen stand before you accused and indicted, and whether they are guilty or no I shall not say, 'tis your part to enquire.

The indictment consists of 2 parts, the one general, the other particular; the general part sets forth that these Gentlemen imagined and intended the overthrow of this government and the bringing in of a foreign power. The particular shews that they accepted of several Commissions, some to be Coll^{ls} or a Lieutenant Coll^{l}, and some Majors, and for this purpose have levied men provided arms and taken measures when and how to act. Now if men be so forward as to do any act out of design to bring into our nation foreign enemies, or do any thing to encourage them to come in, that act is Treason, and tho' the act be not effected, as God be thanked this was not, yet nevertheless the design itself is Treason. We shall go so far back as to the year 1689, and there shall begin and show you how at that time they set up a Conspiracy of bringing in the French King to levy war in this Kingdom under pretence of restoring King James: we shall prove to you how from time to time they held their consultations; our witnesses will tell you, and we shall prove to you by their very agents, that they have sent Messengers to France to tell them there how our condition stood here, and to acquaint them when wou'd be the most convenient season to invade us with an army. In the month of the then April following a French army lay ready at La Hogue to have embarked and should have landed with us in England, which was happily prevented (by the French Fleet being beat); and as soon as England had been surprised, then their fresh army should have assisted that from France against us, which if it had come to pass, I leave it to any sober considerate man to consider how sad our condition now had been.

Gentlemen,

We shall go further with you, and prove it to you by those very persons that were their Agents, how that arms were bought, and soldiers listed and actually quartered with you.

Before the witnesses gave their evidence, the Prisoners petitioned that the witnesses might be examined apart; the Judge replied, it should be so with all his heart if the King's Counsell consented thereto; but he after said he never remembered any instance of it, especially in such a criminal fact, so it was not allowed.

John Lunt(1) being the first witness for the King and Queen produced and sworn, and being asked by Sir Will^m^ Williams if he knew all the 5 Gentlemen Prisoners at the Bar, he said he did know them all. Sir Roland Stanley then said to Lunt, Which is S^r^ Roland Stanley? and Lunt pointing at a wrong person, and a great noise being thereupon made, the Judge bid Lunt take one of the Officers' white staves and lay it upon Sir Roland Stanley's head: Lunt took the Cryer's staff and laid it upon the head of Sir Tho^s^ Clifton, saying that was Sir Roland Stanley;(2) and being then

(1) There must have been something remarkable in the way in which the evidence was given. An eye witness thus describes it: "There is something I would but cannot describe, and that is the transcendant and unparalleled impudence of Lunt and his partners. I can tell you their words and the material parts of their evidence, but the form, the audacious boldness with which they delivered themselves, and their brow of brass far surmount all the language I was ever master of."—Wagstaffe's *Letter out of Lancashire to a Friend in London, giving an Account of the late Trials.* 1694. (See Mr. Lunt's deposition at length, page 12, *ante.*)

(2) In the debate as to admitting the depositions of Goodman (a witness who had fled) on the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick in 1696, Mr. Brotherton (who at that time I believe was member for Newton) thus forcibly adduced this incident against admitting the deposition in the absence of the witness—"Eleven witnesses were produced before a grand jury, and when they came to give evidence face to face, before the petit jury, the first witness did not know the criminal that he had sworn against. It was in the case of Sir Rowland Stanley."—*Proceedings against Sir John Fenwick Bart. upon a Bill of Attainder for High Treason,*

asked which was Sir Thoˢ Clifton, he pointed at Sir Roland Stanley, saying that was he, and further did depose to the effect following, viz. That he was a soldier in King James's Guards in Ireland, and was there at the time when Dʳ Bromfield came over thither from England, which was in the year 1689, and Dʳ Bromfield, as he said, brought instructions from most of the gentlemen in England that were King James's friends, and desired that his Majesty would send over Commissions, but that as he the said Dʳ Bromfield was a suspected person and much sought after in England, some other trusty persons were to be pitched upon for that purpose, amongst which he, the said Lunt, was one thought fitt by my Lord Thoˢ Howard and recommended by him as such to the Earl of Melfort; and the sᵈ Lunt being asked by the Lord Thoˢ Howard, Dʳ Bromfield, and the said Earl if he would undertake the service, agreed to it, and thereupon Commissions and other Instructions were prepared, and when all things were in readiness the Guards were ordered, as before agreed, to be drawn up, and King James coming as to take a view of them, cashiered Lunt, and one Gordon who was to go into Scotland, and some others who were to be sent to other parts on the same errand, which was done to the intent that it being publicly believed they were sent away in disgrace, they might the better go on that business unsuspected; that thereupon Lunt as he said came for England in one Cawson's vessel of Lancaster, together with one

p. 103. And one of the succeeding speakers somewhat tartly observed upon Mr. Brotherton's speech, that he did not expect anything to be quoted out of Lancashire against the reading of the bill. In the course of the debate on the same bill, Mr. Brotherton endeavoured to throw ridicule upon the charge before the house, and ironically proposed that Sir John Fenwick the accused, and Captain Porter the government approver, should decide the matter by single combat, and fight it out before the earl marshal. — Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 158. When the address of association was proposed and carried in 1696, Mr. Thomas Brotherton and three other Lancashire members, Mr. Legh Bancks, Sir Roger Bradshaw, and Mr. Peter Shakerley, and Sir Thomas Grosvenor one of the Cheshire members, refused to sign it. — Oldmixon, vol. iii. p. 139. Sir John Fenwick (according to the *True History* &c. p. 284,) was in Lancashire when Lunt and others were tried in August 1695, and took an interest in their conviction.

Mr Edmund Trelfall, and the ship coming to Cockerham and they seeing the Custom House Officers making towards them(1) to come on board, he the said Lunt prayed the Master to put him and Mr Trelfall with their concerns on shore before the officers came on board, but the Master refusing, saying he durst not doe it lest the officers should see 'em and his ship be forfeited, the said Lunt (as he swore) pulled a pistoll(2) from under his coat and set it cocked to the Master's breast, threatening to shoot him if he did not immediately put off his boat, which he thereupon did put off, and Lunt threw into the boat a trunk and other things, leaving only behind him in the ship a bundle of blank Commissions, and Trelfall and he got safe to shore with the rest, where taking their papers and commissions out of the trunk, they left the empty trunk in a ditch and got safe to Mr Tildesley's of the Lodge,(3) where Mr Trelfall and he divided their pacquets, Mr Trelfall being to go to carry Commissions into Yorkshire, and he the said Lunt being to distribute the Commissions he had thro' Lancashire and other Countys.

From the Lodge the said Lunt, as he swore, came to Croxteth, the Lord Molineux's house, which was in June or July 1689, conducted thither by a guide in the night,(4) where he found the Lord

(1) Mr. Lunt gives no hint of this in his previous depositions, and the five seamen are all silent upon it. The fact in itself is improbable, because the seamen would have hardly dared to quit the ship with the officers of the customs in sight, still less, under such circumstances, would Mr. Lunt have forgotten his papers, or have ventured so deliberately to give his orders about the missing bags as he stepped on shore.

(2) This most remarkable circumstance is not mentioned in his previous depositions, nor is it confirmed by any of the seamen.

(3) At this house the Tildesleys were honoured with two royal visits; one by James I. in 1617, and the other by Charles II. in 1651. The first visit was followed by the publication of the ill omened *Book of Sports*, and the second by the death of the gallant owner of the Lodge in the fight in Wigan Lane. The Lodge, which is still standing, but degraded from a family mansion to a farm house, retains some original shields of arms over the mantel-piece.

(4) In his previous depositions (ante p. 12) he never mentions this very remarkable circumstance, that the gentlemen were assembled at Croxteth by night, and George Wilson's deposition is equally silent on that head.

Molineux, Mr Molineux his Son, Sir Willm Gerard, Sir Roland Stanley, Sir Thos Clifton, Mr Dicconson, Mr Blundell, Mr Gerard Sir William's Son, Mr Harrington, Mr Ralph Tildesley, and many others; that he there delivered a Commission from King James to Sir Roland Stanley to be a Colll of Horse, another to Sr Thos Clifton to be a Colll of Horse, Dragoons, or Foot, another to Mr Molineux to be Colll of Horse, another to Sir Willm Gerard to be Colll of Horse, and one to the Lord Molineux to be Governor of Liverpool, and that there he saw Mr Molineux give a Commission to Mr Blundell to be his Major. Mr Lunt being then asked by one of the Prisoners if all those Gentlemen last mentioned were then together at Croxteth, he said Yes. Being then asked if ever he had seen Mr Dicconson before that time, he answered No. Being asked if he had ever seen the Lord Molineux's son before that time, he answered No. Sir Roland Stanley then asked Lunt if ever he and the said Lunt were ever any way acquainted before that time? Lunt replied No, upon which Sir Roland said, How probable then can it be, if I were but a man of common or ordinary sense, that I should receive a Commission (the acceptance whereof might throw away my life and estate) from such a person as you, altogether a stranger to me? Lunt then said, But I brought you with your Commission Dr Bromfield's letter.(1) Thereupon Mr Justice Eyre said to Sir Roland, You are answered, that was his credentials; and further said to the Prisoners, Gentlemen, you may ask questions, but this is not the time to make observations. Then the Judge asked Mr Lunt again if, before the delivery of those Commissions to Sir Thos Clifton and Sir Roland Stanley, he did personally know them? He answered, he did not till then know either of them; and thereupon Sir Giles Eyre the Judge did say there was no such mighty matter in Lunt's mistake as the Prisoners made of it in diversifying the two Gentlemen's names that were strangers to him, having been told when he first saw them that those were the 2 persons. Lunt moreover said that the Gentlemen to whom he brought the

(1) This circumstance is mentioned here for the first time.

Commissions gave him five pounds a piece — That Sir Roland Stanley's five pounds was 2 guineas and the rest in silver, and further said that all those Gentlemen kissed their Commissions at the receipt and reading thereof, and afterwards on their knees drank the health of King James and his Queen and the Prince of Wales, and they hoped to be ready. Then Lunt further swore that about February 1690 he was with Sir Thos Clifton at his house at Lithom, who gave him £10 to buy arms with and list men for King James, and that Sir Roland Stanley some time before that had given him £4 for the same purpose, and that they both ordered him to go to one Mr Whitfield the King's card maker in Leicester Fields London, and take up what money he should have occasion for. That Mr Dicconson about that time gave him the sd Lunt 2 guineas and desired him to list him men. That Lunt accordingly listed him 60 men in London, to whom at their listing he gave 12d each, and that he sent down 40 swords at one time and many more arms by Hilton and by Knowles, Carriers, directed some to one Mr Mayer in Preston, some to one Taylor of Standish, and some to one Jackson in Preston, and that particularly at one time he the sd Lunt sent down as many arms as came to £50, which he bought of a Cutler who lives next to the upper end of Middle Row in Holborn, and for which he brought the aforesaid Mr Whitfield to the Cutler, who undertook for the payment thereof.

That about July or August 1691 Lunt was at Standish Hall, desired by Sir Roland Stanley, Mr Dicconson, Mr Blundell, Mr Langton and others to go over to France to acquaint King James with their forwardness, and to know when they might expect him. In order to this they gave Lunt £15 and a bill for £15 more upon one Walgrave. That Lunt accordingly went and acquainted King James, who told him he would be in readiness the Spring following, whereupon Lunt returned in December, and acquainted Sir Thos Clifton, Mr Legh, and the rest.

Lunt likewise swore that about February 1691 he was at Dunkenhalgh, where Mr Walmsley being lately come from France, pro-

duced a Commission from King James for his being Coll[l] of Horse, and then did deliver a Commission to M[r] Dicconson to be his Lieut[t] Coll[l], and a Commission to M[r] Langton to be his Major, and that M[r] Langton upon the receipt of that Commission say'd he had kept 4 Irishmen in his house 2 years, and that he now hoped to have some good of them. That M[r] Legh of Lyme was there present, and that they did all declare they did not question to be well prepared against the King's landing.

M[r] Dicconson one of the Prisoners asking the said Lunt the reason why he either discovered this thing no sooner, or why he discovered it at all, he the said Lunt answered he had not discovered it but that some things were put upon him which he could not do, and being urged by the Court to explain himself, he said, When he was last in France there was a design on foot to kill King William, and the Earl of Melfort asked him if he would make one in the attempt, and he answered he would, and came over to England intending to do it, but that in his travelling the Country he met with a Carthusian Fryar, to whom going to confession he declared this, and his said Confessor thereupon disallowed it, telling him unless he could do it fairly in the field it was wilful Murder, and he thereupon first made this discovery lest some of the rest concerned might accomplish it.

John Womball(1) the 2[nd] Witness for the King and Queen swore he for several years was servant to James Knowles a Carrier, during which time he carried Arms from London, horse loads of Arms to Townley, 7 packs he brought in the night to Standish Hall, and all the Prisoners were there except Sir Roland Stanley, and one Captain Redish took Sir Tho[s] Clifton's share of the Arms.

Joshua Ashurst another Witness of the King and Queen swore that he carried 3 boxes, which he said he received from Womball, to M[r] Dicconson's house, but does not know that they were Arms, but said a Servant paid him for the carriage.

(1) See his previous deposition, page 35, *ante*.

John Knowles another Carrier, sworn a witness for the King and Queen, said in these words — By fair yea and nea I know nought on't.

Oliver Pierson(1) next sworn a witness for the King and Queen,

(1) This person made the following deposition after the trial. He only speaks to events which happened about 1691, (see *True History*, &c. p. 267 :) —

Oliver Pearson of Longridge in the Parish of Ribchester and County of Lancaster, maketh Oath, that about Christmas last was three years, he this Deponent being a Servant of John Womball of Wigan-Lane Carryer, was imployed as his Servant to manage his Affairs, he this Deponent went to meet his said Master's Pack-horses loaden with Goods from London, and coming through Wigan Lane aforesaid, at an Ale-house formerly known by the Sign of the White Bull, adjoyning to the way-side, Mr. Standish of Standish-Hall in the said County, and Mr. Standish his Son came out of the said House, and they knowing this Deponent, called for a Pot of Ale and gave it him, and this Deponent going a little further in Wigan Lane aforesaid with the said Pack horses to a Pool or Pond, where Horses used to wash and water, a Mare with her Pack by accident was thrown down, and after she was recovered, he drove the Horses home to his said Master's house, and there he uncorded the Pack that was upon the said Mare, and in the mean time came Mr. Standish the younger aforesaid, and asked for this Deponent's Master, and this Deponent answered, he left him at Wigan, then the said Mr. Standish said, he had some Goods brought from London upon those Pack-horses that were directed to Blackburn, and told this Deponent the Marks of the Goods, but to whom they were directed, or the Marks of those Goods, this Deponent cannot remember; then the said Mr. Standish desired he might have those Goods brought home that same night, which this Deponent promised should be done; and when this Deponent's Master came home, he told him of it, and likewise told him what a Misfortune had happen'd to the Mare in the Pond as aforesaid, and desired his Master to look upon the Goods that were in that Pack, to see if they were not spoiled; and his said Master going into the Barn where all the Packs lay, he opened the Boxes that were in the said Pack, and found in them Pistols for Horsemen, and when he saw that they were Pistols, he threw straw over them that they might not be seen, and this was upon a Saturday night. And this Deponent farther saith, that upon the Sunday night following about Twelve o'Clock his said Master ordered him to Saddle a good Gelding, and a Mare, and to take two Corn-Sacks into the Barn, and there this Deponent and his Master filled those Sacks with the Pistols as full as they could well be carried on Horseback; then his said Master opened other Packs and found two Kettle Drums (the Kettle Drums were in a Cask made for the purpose) which he whelved upon this Deponent's head as he sat on Horseback upon one of the Sacks of Pistols; and when this Deponent began to ride forward, the Kettle Drums made a noise by rattling one against another, and so frighted the Horse that

said he had carried some few Arms to Mr Standish and Mr Dut-

this Deponent was thrown, and with the Fall wounded his head upon a Stump. Afterwards this Deponent and his Master went to the said Standish-Hall with the said Pistols and Kettle Drums and delivered them to Thomas Hatton (the said Mr. Standish's Steward) upon the Bowling Green belonging to Standish-Hall, and that done the said Thomas Hatton took this Deponent and his said Master into the House and gave them some drink, and likewise gave this Deponent a Shilling, and then this Deponent went home with his Master. And this Deponent further saith, that his Master did usually go to the said Bowling-Green upon publick Bowling-days (if he was not abroad upon Business) and he the said Wrmhall did very often stay longer than ordinary, when he went to Standish Hall upon Bowling-days; and when his said Master did stay longer than ordinary, this Deponent did go to fetch him home; and one time amongst the rest his said Master told him that he had been with Mr. Dicconson, Mr. Towneley, and a great many more whose Names he has forgot (but these he remembers) and likewise told him, that these Gentlemen promised to give him a considerable Sum of Money for what Losses and Trouble he had been at upon their Account. And the said Old Mr. Standish in Discourse said, that he would gratifie him himself. And this Deponent further saith that before and after the Kettle Drums and Pistols were carried to Standish Hall, as aforesaid, his said Master brought several Boxes in Packs from London (the Boxes being like those the Pistols were in, and had the same marks as they had) to his own House, and afterwards carried them to Standish Hall. And his said Master often times told him, that he believed these Boxes were full of Pistols or other Arms. And this Deponent further saith, that about seven years ago he called at a House within a Mile of Blackburn aforesaid, where some Gentlemen were drinking in an Inner Room, and the Room door being open this Deponent enquired of some of the People of the House, who those Gentlemen were, and Answer was made that one of them was Mr. Walmsley, which said Walmsley this Deponent took particular notice of, because there was then a great talk in the Country of Mr. Walmsley of Dunkenhalgh coming to his Estate, and about four years ago this Deponent met the same Mr. Walmsley in Church-Parish about three quarters of a Mile from his House called Dunkenhalgh on Horse-back with two or three Men in his Company. And this Deponent further saith, that between three or four years since one Thomas Clayton then a Carryer, called at Thomas Smith's House in the said Wigan Lane, and there he began to rail against this Deponent's said Master for carrying of Arms, and said he would Hang him for doing it, where upon the said Smith (who was also a Carryer, and all inning at the Castle Inn in Woodstreet London) rebuk'd the said Clayton for his so railing against this Deponent's Master, saying, that he would ruin both himself and other People, and by Perswasions made him hold his peace;

Jurat' 15 die Oliver Pearson.
Febr. 1696.

Coram me,
Tho. *Rokeby*, [one of the Justices of the K.B.]

conson, but mentioned not what sort, what quantity, nor what time.

George Wilson,(1) witness for the King and Queen, swore that he was ordered by the Prisoners to go to the Water Side to wait for some Gentlemen that were to come by sea, and that he came to Croxteth with Mr Lunt, and saw Mr Lunt deliver Commissions to severall of the Prisoners — saw Lunt receive money from Lord Molineux to enlist Soldiers — says he was at Dunkenhalgh in 1691 and saw Mr Walmsley give a Commission to Mr Dicconson to be Lieutt Colll, and another to Mr Langton to be Major.

Colll Urian Brereton(2) another witness for the King and Queen swore he was an Officer under King James in Ireland, who having no farther service for him, he came to England and was engaged by Sir Roland Stanley to head such forces as they were preparing in favour of King James.

Captain Baker, another witness for the King and Queen, swore that being informed that there were Arms secretly kept at Standish Hall, he went with a party of Dutch Horse in July last to search there, where he and those that went with him found 39 saddles, most of them war saddles; that all the war saddles were seemingly new, which he believed had never been used, the panells being clean and white — that he there found a few belts with sockets for carrying carbines — that there were a great many bridles fitt for Troopers, and particularly one fine bridle fitt for an Officer — that some of the saddles were but ordinary hackney

(1) See this witness's previous deposition (page 28, *ante*).

(2) Urian was a common christian name of the Brereton's of Handford, but it does not appear that this person was a member of that family. Wagstaffe, in his *Letter out of Lancashire*, calls him a saddler's apprentice; and Ferguson, in his *Letter to Sir J. Trenchard*, proves him to be a common sharper. He had been in France, and having wandered to Lisle and been there detained until some account could be had of him from St. Germains, the representations they gave of him were so little to his advantage that he was drummed out of the place.

saddles, but that there was one mourning saddle — that there was one buff coat: that the mourning saddle he left, and the rest he seized and took away.

[*The Information of John Wilson of Chippin in the County of Lancaster.*(1)

(Printed from the *True History*, page 243.)

That he this Informant doth remember, that at Christmas last was four Years, one Mr. Thrillfall of Goosner in the said County of Lancaster and one Mr. John Lunt who went then by the Name of Jackson, said they came from King James out of Ireland into Lancashire, as he had been inform'd also by others, and this Informant being at that time in their Company at Goosner heard them say, they had brought several Commissions from King James to several Roman Catholic Gentlemen and others in Lancashire and other places, one of which he this Informant saw, viz. One for Mr. Lunt to be a Lieutenant under Mr. Thrillfall,(2) and Mr. Thrillfall told him, he had a Commission to be a Captain.

And this Informant farther saith, that at the same time of his seeing them at Goosner as aforesaid, there was one with them that went by the Name of Alderton, who was writing to London for Arms as they said, and heard them discoursing, that they had others that had bought great Quantities of Arms and other things for War, some of which he this Informant at that time saw, viz. five or six Swords, two Case of Pistols and one Pocket Pistol, and to the best of his remembrance a Dagger, and Armour(3) made of white Paper sow'd together with yellow Wire, and that they were endeavouring to get a great many more, all which were for King James's Service: And this Informant further saith, that soon after Mr. Thrillfall and Mr. Lunt coming over as abovesaid, he was

(1) This witness was not examined on the trials, but as he made a deposition only a few days before, it has been thought desirable to insert it in this place after the other evidence for the Crown.

(2) This must have been in 1689, the year before Mr. Threlfall was killed.

(3) A strange armoury to commence a rebellion!

employ'd by the said Thrillfall and Lunt to make double Girts for four Buckles for Troopers' Saddles, and accordingly did make 34, 23 of which he deliver'd to the said Thrillfall, who told him that upon their having Occasion he should make more.

That the Candlemas after this Informant was at Goosner, Mr. Thrillfall told him he had twenty Irish Men all ready for his Troop, most of whom this Informant at that time saw, who said themselves, that Lunt spoke to them, and sent them down from London to be Soldiers for King James under Mr. Thrillfall, and the said Irish Men were at Thrillfall's, and in the Country for several Months; some of whom were afterwards imprison'd in Lancaster Goal, he doth remember the Names of some of them, viz. Thomas Lock, William Macarty and Oneal, Dumbarton, two whose Names were Bourn, and two whose Names were Cook, Kelly a tall Man, Walter Tate, Richard Lettice a little Man well skill'd as he said in fencing, Hugh Neal, one Locksome who used to have a Spaniel with brown Spots, which used to lye with him upon the Bed, one they call'd Long Boy a Taylor, one Mr. Dalton a very handsome comly Man, a fat Man that wore a blew Apron who was taken for a Preston Butcher, who used to ask any body that look'd upon him, if they had any fat Calves or Sheep to be sold.

And this Informant farther saith, that betwixt 2 or 3 Years ago the said Mr. Lunt came to this Informant's House, and then did declare to this Informant, that he the said Lunt had been at Dungan-Hall with Mr. Walmsley, who as he said was lately come from France, and the said Lunt said, he had receiv'd from the said Walmsley a Commission to be a Captain of Horse in a Regiment to be raised for King James's Service, and that the said Walmsley was to be Collonel of the same, which Commission he this Informant at that time saw in the hands of Mr. Lunt and heard him read the same. And this Informant saith, that a little after the said Lunt's receipt of the said Commission as aforesaid, he this Informant saw the said Mr. Lunt list several Men for King James's Service, viz. Richard Cottam, Edward Cottam, Tho. Swinghurst, Lancellot Bolton, William Hodgkinson, Henry Bourne, Richard

Beesley, Robert Clarkson, his Brother Cuthbert Wilson, and this Informant, and several others promised that they would list themselves the next time Lunt came to this Informant's House.

And about 3 Years and a half ago Mr. Lunt told this Informant, that he the said Lunt had listed six(1) Men in Wyersdale for King James's Service, and that he was promis'd a great many more there, and about three Years since Mr. Lunt told this Informant, he had listed twelve Men in Cheshire for the said Service.

At Inglewhite Fair was three Years, Mr. Lunt sent this Informant to one James Bradley a York Carrier, that liv'd a little beyond Longridge-fell with a Letter, this Informant brought him the said Lunt back to the best of his remembrance a Letter in answer to that sent, but does positively say, he brought back a Watch from the said Carrier and deliver'd it to Lunt. Near three Years ago (to the best of this Informant's remembrance) Mr. Lunt came to this Informant's House and told him, he was going to the Lord Molyneux's to meet a great many Gentlemen there. Much about the same time Mr. Lunt sent him this Informant, to one William Hodgkinson of Legrum about buying a black Mare of the said Hodgkinson, and order'd him to bring him back an Answer to Dungan-Hall, and accordingly this Informant did return with his Message to Dungan-Hall, and then and there he this Informant saw in company with Mr. Lunt, Mr. Charles Harris, Robert Holden and several other Gentlemen that this Informant did not know, and this Informant after a little stay there, did see a Gentleman they call'd Mr. Walmsley come down Stairs into a Room at the foot of the Stairs, where the said Lunt and the other Gentlemen were, and a little time after he came into the said Room he saw the said Lunt pull a Paper out of his Pocket, and deliver it to the said Walmsley who receiv'd the same, which this Informant doth believe was a Roll of Men listed for King James's Service, because the next Time he this Informant met with and saw the said Lunt (which was about a fortnight after,) he

(1) Robert Bradley, whose deposition is in the Appendix, says thirty.

told him that the Paper he saw him deliver to Mr. Walmsley, was a Roll or List of the Names as aforesaid.(1)

John Wilson.]

Jurat' 5. die
Oct. 1694.
Coram me,
G. Eyre.

The forementioned evidence for their Majesties having been given and no more witnesses being called, after some stay Mr Dicconson, one of the Prisoners, asked for himself and the rest, if that were all the evidence that would be given against them? moving, if they had more, they would give it altogether; to which Mr. Justice Eyre said he must leave that to the King's Counsell; whereupon Sir Willm Williams standing up said — To deal plainly, we have no further evidence to give, unless we have occasion given by what may fall from the Prisoners' evidence.

Sir Roland Stanley then applied himself to the Court and said — My Lords, we are not able to make our observations upon all the improbabilities and incoherences of the evidence given against us, but we are well assured your Lordships' Justice will do it for us: there has been great industry to conceal from us the particular matters we are charged with. All the discoveries we have made we owe to the Providence of God, who protects the innocent — in the mean time we shall satisfy your Lordships and the Gentlemen of the Jury that this is a bloody conspiracy against our lives for the sake of our estates, carried on by indigent and necessitous villains.

Then Mr. Dicconson said further — My Lords, it is no new thing to hear of sham plotts forged by persons for interest and design —

(1) The witness says not a word of the very important fact mentioned in the depositions of Robert Bradley in the appendix, that it was he who kept the roll of the enlisted men, and that he burnt it at the request of Mr. Lunt; neither of which circumstances is ever alluded to by the latter.

such an one was that of Fuller,(1) who was ordered by a vote of the House of Commons to be prosecuted for an impostor, and that of Whitney,(2) who, to save his life after he had been condemned, gave information of a Plott, but the Lord Chief Justice Holt upon examination detected it, and Whitney was executed the next(3) day. Another of a like nature was that of Young and Blackett,(4) which is so well known to the Counsell and most of the Gentlemen of the Court that I need not repeat it; and I hope, my Lords, we shall

(1) The story of Fuller, who in 1692 amused the House of Commons with pretended discoveries of a plot against the government, and who, failing to produce some witnesses he had named in support of it, was voted to be an impostor, is told in Oldmixon's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 67. But he seems to have been incorrigible; for notwithstanding that he was prosecuted and put in the pillory for this offence, he was again tried for a similar offence in the year 1702, and being found guilty, was whipped, imprisoned, and fined. — Ibid. vol. iii. p. 281.. The allusion here made to his case by Mr. Dicconson was well timed, for his imposture was then so recent and so notorious as to have thrown informers (especially political informers) into even more than ordinary discredit.

(2) Whitney's case was, if possible, more remarkable than Fuller's. In the year 1693 this person, who is mentioned before (page 22,) was lying in Newgate under sentence of death for highway robbery, and, to procure a pardon, he boldly invented and with consummate hardihood attempted to support a charge against the Lords Litchfield, Aylesbury, and Salisbury of being engaged with others in a plot to assassinate the king, but the sagacity and temper of Lord Holt defeated the attempt. See the story told in Ralph's *Continuation of the History of England*, vol. ii. p. 424.

(3) According to this account Whitney was executed in 1693, and not in the year mentioned by Johnson (page 22, *ante*).

(4) Robert Young and Stephen Blackhead, two persons who in 1692 got up an extraordinary accusation of high treason against Spratt bishop of Rochester, the particulars of which are detailed with so much clearness in his often printed account, and which may be read in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 198. Blackhead's effrontery gave way before the force of the bishop's transparent innocence, and he ultimately confessed his guilt; but his partner Robert Young, whose career of villainy and crime has no parallel in any personal history, never retracted the charge, although the bishop was able to produce overwhelming evidence of its falsehood. Both the prisoners were afterwards indicted and convicted of forgery. Unfortunately Robert Young, in two statements which he made, claims this neighbourhood as the place of his nativity; in the first he states that he was born at Chester, and in the second at Warrington. It is to be hoped that both statements were groundless.

make it appear that this design against us is of the same nature, and by our witnesses we shall be able to make it out.

After which the Prisoners had leave to call their witnesses, and the first was —

Simon Arrowsmith who swore that he being under Gaoler of Lancaster Castle in the year 1690, Lunt was then a prisoner, poor and shabby, and asked some Irish men who had served King James if they wou'd list, but was by them refused, and that he Lunt had called himself Smith.

Mr John Breers swore that Lunt had told him he had robbed on the highway, which he said Lunt called the merry pad.

Cuthbert Wilson(1) swore that he had heard Lunt say that he and his Comrades, when in King James's service, had committed severall robberies, and that he had done it in England, and that it was a merry way of living, and entreated him the said Wilson to engage with him in the same way of life, and mentioned some other particulars concerning Lunt's roguery.

Charles Beswick swore that Lunt in the year 1690 sold a horse to 3 several persons in one day, and cheated them all by secretly going away with it.

Lawrence Parsons swore that as he was coming from Lancashire to London, he met with Lunt, who opened the business of the Plott to him, and wanted to engage him in it, but he refused him; he likewise mentioned the particulars.

Mr Legh Banks,(2) a Gentleman of Gray's Inn, swore that he

(1) This witness was brother to John Wilson, whose deposition has been given page 76, *ante*.

(2) The author of *A True History*, p. 124, charges Mr. Bancks with counterfeiting

had heard of one Mr Taffe who was to have been in the Plott, and he mention'd the particulars.

Mr Taffe himself gave evidence to the same effect as Mr Legh Bancks had done, and disclos'd the whole villainy in a long series of Transactions.(1)

drunkenness, and thereby inducing Lunt to tell him the names of the king's witnesses and other particulars previous to the trial. According to Wagstaffe, Mr. Legh Bancks gave evidence that he was introduced to Lunt by Taffe; that Lunt was well pleased at it, and would needs have him obliged to secresy, that Lunt told him he might have been in Dodsworth's plot if he would, that he had two witnesses, Womball and Wilson, to back his evidence, but that he would turn them off, because they were ignorant fellows, if he could but get two or three gentlemen (like Mr. Bancks) who would manage the business and bring his plot to a better conclusion — that he enquired if he Mr. Bancks could write well, and proposed, if he could, that he should be employed in writing commissions — that he Lunt could get an old commission of King James's and a pass from Lord Melfort, and it would be easy to counterfeit their hands — that he promised him great rewards and put him in hopes of the gentlemen's estates.—*Wagstaffe's Letter out of Lancashire.* And Ferguson tells us that both Mr. Bancks and Mr. Beresford were introduced to Mr. Lunt, who proposed to them to be parties to the plot at the Ship in Butcher Row near Temple Bar, on Friday 28th September 1694, about three o'clock in the afternoon.—*Letter to Sir John Trenchard.*

(1) Upon hearing Taffe's evidence, Mr. Oldmixon says, Sir William Williams, the King's Counsel, sat down in Court and would examine no more witnesses against the prisoners, giving up the cause at once, though there were many witnesses unexamined as well to Taffe's infamous character as to the plot itself. . . . . As soon as the Court broke up he took post for London and represented the King's witnesses as forgers of a plot to destroy many gentlemen of rank and fortune.— vol. iii. p. 99.

The author of *A True History of the several Designs against his Majesty's Person and Government from* 1688 *till* 1697, affirms that Threlfall and Lunt were provided with passes under the hand and seal of the Lord Melfort, and that one of such passes was ready to be produced at the trial at Manchester, "but Sir W. W. for reasons best known to himself would not suffer it" (p. 13). But without attributing to Sir William Williams coolness in the service of the government, it is easy to find a better motive for his conduct. An honourable advocate finding that his case could only be supported by perjury and forgery, would naturally act as he did.

It is to be inferred from the following letter that Mr. Taffe continued to meddle with plots, real or pretended, for some years at least after the present trials:—

[The Narrative of Mr. Taffe is here given verbatim from *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Papers*, p. 552: — (1)

Some time after Christmas Anno Dom. 1693. John Lunt came to my House, and told me he had a discovery of great Moment, to make to the Government, but was unwilling to communicate it to any body, except some Man that had Interest at Court. There-

Whitehall Ap. 3. 1701.

Richard Norris Esq.
Mayor (of Liverpool)

Sir

The enclosed letter to Mr. Taffe being brought by one of the letter carriers of the post office to Mr. Secretary Hodges, he directs me to send it to you and desires you will please examine into the matter of it and give him an account of what you find, and if there be occasion, that you direct the offenders to be prosecuted according to law.

I am &c.

J. Tucker.

—*Norris Papers*, (Chetham Society,) p. 62.

Oldmixon, (vol. iii. p. 99,) the year after the trials, when it was become important to disparage Taffe, reckons up many offences against him; amongst others that he stole a silver chalice and other goods from Mr. Hesketh, a priest near Preston, which Captain Baker obliged him to restore: that he stole money, another silver chalice, an altar cloth, and other goods from Mr. Molineux, which Mr. Morrison forced him to restore.

Burnet (vol. ii. p. 142) says that Taffe was an Irish priest, who had not only changed his religion but had married in King James's time. He came into the service of King William's government, and had a small pension. He was long in pursuit of a discovery of the imposture in the birth of the Prince of Wales, and was engaged with more success in discovering the concealed estates of the priests and the religious orders, in which some progress was made. These seemed to be sure evidences of the man's sincerity, at least in his opposition to those whom he had forsaken, and whom he was provoking in so sensible a manner. This is mentioned chiefly to shew how little that sort of men are to be depended on. He possessed those to whom his other discoveries gave him access of the importance of this Lunt, and was very zealous in supporting Lunt's credit, and in assisting him in his discoveries.

(1) The title is: "A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Papers, some whereof were never before printed:" (then follows a list of the papers, twenty-six in number.) "London; printed for George Sawbridge at the Three Golden Flowers de Luces, in Little Britain, 1712."

upon I acquainted the Earl of Bellamont with it, who desired me to get Lunt to set down in writing, what he had to say, and his Lordship would introduce him to the Secretary of State. Whereupon I went and told Lunt, what my Lord said; the next day Lunt brought me a Paper, importing, to the best of my memory, that Lunt with one Bromfield were sent from France, to murther King William, and that several were to joyn them in the Attempt. This Paper I carried to the Earl of Bellamont, who acquainted Secretary Trenchard with it; upon which the Secretary desired to speak with Lunt, who accordingly waited on him several times: I know not whether or no the Secretary believed him, but I remember he told me he was a Jacobite, and took no notice of him, giving him but five Guineas. Then Lunt desired me to bring him acquainted with Capt. Baker, for that he knew who had given a great deal of Money to superstitious uses; whereupon I brought Lunt to Capt. Baker's Office, who entertained him as a Witness, and gave him a sum of Money in hand, besides 20s. per Week; after which Lunt and Baker were always together till the Witnesses were examined, who pretended to know any thing of the forfeited Estates. After which Capt. Baker, having nothing to do, resolved on a Project, which was, to sue all the Englishmen in France to Outlawries; in order to which he desired Lunt to give him the Names of those above mentioned. Lunt named Mr. Walmsley and promised to prove him there: Baker, who was glad to hear of so good an estate, bargained with him for a third part of it, to be divided between Aaron Smith, Capt. Baker, and the rest of the Witnesses: after which Capt. Baker came to me, and told me the discourse he had with Aaron Smith, and desired me to speak to my Lord Portland to beg the Estate, I told him my Lord Portland was a Man of more honour. And besides I told him my Lord Portland was going to Flanders, and that Mr. Walmsley was upon his journey into England, with their Majesties' Pass. This Answer somewhat surprised Capt. Baker, who then bethought himself of another design, which was to go on with Lunt in his first Discovery of Killing King William. In all their Projects he found this to

be very necessary in getting good estates for himself. Capt. Baker gave Lunt Money, whom he called fellow-sufferer. Mr. Smith and Capt. Baker both gave Lunt Money to help in his Discovery; they sum'd up his Evidence, and took his Narrative in Writing, which they seemed glad to receive; yet they perceived it wanted Aaron Smith's Correction, to make it every way to the purpose. When Lunt's Narrative was mended, they shewed it to me, asking my opinion of it, which I gave them freely, thinking what Lunt said was true, till he gave me a Catalogue of such Honourable Persons as the then Marquiss of Carmarthen, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquiss of Hallifax, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir John Mainwaring, Sir Willoughby Aston, Sir Dutton Colt, Mr. Norris of Speke, Mr. Rigby, &c. I thought their Plot a Fiction, for I could not imagine those men should Plot against the life of the King, that had hazarded their own to bring him to the Throne: yet I dared not to speak my sentiments of the Plot, for fear of being impeached of High Treason: But I told them that tho' it might be true, yet it would not be believed against them, they were so much in the Favour and Interest of the Government. But I told them it would be the best way to bring the Reputed Papists and Jacobites to their Tryals, and then they might discover their Accomplices. This Advice pleased Lunt so well, that he was persuaded to blot out these and many more out of his Discovery, and compleat his Narrative with others. When Lunt's Narrative was corrected they gave it to Mr. Ellis to Copy fair, (who was Capt. Baker's Clark) for which service the said Ellis was to have ten shillings a week.

After this Lunt and Baker said they would not acquaint any with it but the Lord Keeper and the two Secretaries of State. I asked him why he would not acquaint the whole Council with it. They (reply'd Lunt) are many of them guilty themselves, and therefore would oppose it. I thought this then a good reason for not acquainting the Council with it. But since I find the reason truly to be, that it was easier to impose upon three Persons than the whole Council. After this Capt. Baker writes to me in Lancashire

to bring up one Womball a Broken Carrier, who pretended to have discovered some Arms sent by him into Lancashire. On the Road I asked him what he knew of the Plot; he said no more than that once he brought a Box of Swords into Lancashire; he then also deny'd that he knew Lunt, yet afterwards when he came to Capt. Baker's Office, he knew both Lunt and the Plot as well as any man; so soon did Money refresh his memory: upon the Receiving of which he grew so proud and domineering, that he threatened to bring every one into the Plot, that displeased him, or asked him for the Money that he owed them.

After this, Lunt entertained one Wilson, a fellow that helped to make Beds for the Guests, at the Bear and Ragged Staff in Smithfield. I asked Lunt who that Gentleman was, who said, that he was a Gentleman come from Preston in Lancashire, and that Mr. Smith had given him ten pounds to defray his charges to London. Seeing them carry all before them, I began to fear the event; for they did every Night at the Tavern talk openly of perpetrating their villainous designs, instructing one another in the Mystery of Iniquity, threatning to accuse me if I should discover them.

After this, all things being ready for their designs, they went into the Country with Messengers, Warrants, and what else were necessary, for seizing Men, Arms, and Horses: Then Capt. Baker told me, if I would oblige him with my company into Lancashire he would bear my charges, for he said he did not like Lunt's or Wilson's Company. He disliking their Company, I was bold to say, I thought they did not in every thing speak Truth: Baker said whether they did or not, I am sure to make out a heinous Plot; for besides these Fellows, viz. Lunt and Wilson, Aaron Smith has more Witnesses in Store, if they could find out store of Arms and Horses in the Papists' hands, to prove a Plot, which shall go through England, till it make a through Reformation, and down Bishops and Cathedral Laws: For, says Baker, we can never be happy whilst there is a Bishop or Minister of the Church of England left. And I, though unwillingly, did consent to go with him for divers Reasons. First, Because I was afraid they would

do me some mischief if I refused, for they threatned Death to any that contradicted them. Secondly, I apprehended, if I absolutely should refuse them, they would never trust me any more; and then I should be deprived of an opportunity of discovering their Plot, and of serving the Government which I was oblig'd to do.

Reader, should I here give you an account of their Impiety upon the Road, and tell you of their Atheism, Blasphemy, and all other sorts of Profaneness, you would not read them without a sigh or Tears: They made it a Capital Crime to say Grace, or go to Church; and though all of them were arrived to an intolerable degree or pitch of Villainy, yet Baker did exceed them all, for every where as he went he did exclaim against the Church of England Religion, he did frequently say, the time was coming to pull down the Ecclesiastical Laws, and that he thought God had preserved him for that purpose: And Aaron Smith wished for old Oliver again, saying, the times were never so happy as under him, and that he had not so much animosity against the Papists of the Church of Rome, as those of the Church of England; for they were for Monarchy and Hierarchy. With these and such like discourses, they entertain'd us on the Road; Womball and Lunt affirming with bloody Oaths that his Worship was in the Right: And for the Truth of this I appeal to the People of the Inns where we lodged, viz. at the Bull in Manchester, the Eagle and Child in Wiggon, and the Golden Lyon in Warrington. When we came into Lancashire, and things were in a Readiness for seizing Horses and Arms of the Roman Catholicks, Baker had pickt up a parcel of the greatest Rascals in that Country, who minding nothing but plundring and rappareeing; wherever they came they used to seize Horses and sell them again to the Owners for five or ten pounds a horse: Sometimes they brought the Horses to Capt. Baker, who kept or returned them as he pleased, always getting something by them; for they were never restored *gratis* to any, as I could hear.

Seeing Baker thus Extravagant, I began to tell him of his Irregular Proceedings, because when he first invited me down he promised to be ruled by me, but he never would.

The Messengers us'd to curse Taffe, saying G— D— him, for he persuades the Capt. to go down; which if he does, we shall never have the like opportunity to get Money. I never saw Men so extravagant and resolute to ruine themselves, I pitied the circumstances of the Gentlemen whom their plotting designed to ruine, whose Destruction I was willing to prevent; which obliged me to reveal this Mystery of Iniquity to some body that might enable me to do it. I gave Hints of this to the Parson of New-Town, but he seeing me in such Company was afraid to trust me, which was a great affliction to me. I resolved in my mind to prevent the ruin of those Innocent Gentlemen by any means, but the Power and Authority of Aaron Smith deterred me. He did so threaten and discourage all them that durst contradict him, he was so careful of his Plot that it should succeed, that he came every day to Capt. Baker's Office, to instruct and prepare the Witnesses against the Tryals, and so confident he seem'd to effect what he had contrived, that sometimes he would audaciously affirm, that in less than half a year he would have the lives of five hundred Persons. In short, I knew not what to resolve on, till the Quarrels of Wilson and Lunt gave me opportunity of detecting their Plot; and the best way I could think of was to find out Wilson, which when I had done, I invited him to dinner, that I might learn the matter between Lunt and him: Whereupon Wilson told me Lunt had cheated him of Money given him to bear his charges out of Lancashire, whence he made the Secretary believe he came (tho' he did dwell in Smithfield.) Wilson told me the sum was ten pounds, which Lunt and Baker divided between them, except fifty shillings which they gave him; then I asked Wilson what he would do if he disobliged Lunt, who taught him his Lesson: Now, said he, I am acquainted with Aaron Smith and Capt. Baker, who are better able to teach me than Lunt, and they look upon me to be the soberer Man; and when we have hanged up the Gentlemen in Custody, we will turn out Lunt, and employ one Dandy and Pierson, who are kept by Baker at Coventry on purpose to swear, who, with Womball and my self, will pass for Evidences over the whole Kingdom.

The day following I went to Lunt, to know what the matter was between him and Wilson, Lunt answer'd that Wombal and Wilson were two ungrateful Villains, because they expected as much as he, tho' he was the principal Evidence. Then Lunt wished he had to do with some Gentleman, and told me if I would join with him, he would introduce me to the Secretary of State, and cast off Womball and Wilson. I answered I would not my self, but promised to make it my business to find out some Gentleman that would swear with him. Then Lunt told me, that Mr. Smith told him, unless he produc'd some Commissions, he could not do his business so well: Whereupon Lunt said to me, Mr. Taffe, if you will write the Commissions, I will reward you largely. I told him I did not write a good hand, but I would get some Writing-Master to do it for him. Then Lunt told me he would drop them in some House; I asked him in what House; he said in Whitfield's the Card-maker's or in some of the Gentlemen's Houses in Custody; for, said he, Mr. Smith bid me drop them in whose House I pleased, and he would procure a Warrant to search the House, and send Messengers to find them, and we will swear they were the very Commissions from King James. After that, Lunt and I parted, and then I went to some of my Acquaintance, to intreat them to assist me in the Discovery of this piece of Roguery; but none of them would be concerned in it, lest Lunt and Wilson should swear something against them. I myself was also apprehensive, that if I went to the Secretary, he would not believe me, but look upon me to be a Man not well affected to the Government: Whereupon I thought it the best way to find out some Persons that would pretend to swear with Lunt, and Counterfeit Commissions, and go to the Government, and acquaint them how they were imposed upon by a parcel of Villains. I was very uneasie to think that so many innocent Gentlemen should suffer by the Evidence of those I knew to be perjur'd; I thereupon began to fear for my self and for the Gentlemen: for the Gentlemen, that if I did not discover the Designs of these Plotters, not only the Gentlemen in Custody would fall a Sacrifice to the Interest, Pride,

and Malice of these Conspirators, but most of the Prime Nobility and Gentry would follow them; for my self, I was resolved to do it, rather than the Blood of so many innocent Gentlemen should be required at my hands; which I was afraid it would, if any self-regard should make me so dastardly and timorous as not to use my utmost endeavours to clear them. Whereupon I bethought me by what means I might conveniently do it; and amongst all that did occur none seem'd more probable, than to apply my self to some of the Prisoners' Friends, that were either reputed Papists or Jacobites; yet finding the Day of Tryal approaching, and Lunt impatient to drop Commissions, and Aaron Smith impatient to hasten the work, I resolved, rather than fail, to send to some of the Ladies whose Husbands were in Custody. I understood the thing, and went to Madam Dickenson, who after several meetings prevailed with Mr. Leigh Bancks to give me a meeting. As soon as Mr. Bancks came to me, I told him that if he and some others would go to Lunt, and tell him they wanted Money, and desire him to put them in a way to get some, they would be well receiv'd. Mr. Bancks answer'd he would consider of it, and desir'd another meeting, and said he would have some body with him. I met him in Grays-Inn-Lane, and two others that liked the Project well, and promised to meet Lunt at four in the Afternoon.

In the mean time I acquainted Lunt that I had gotten some Gentlemen to swear with him; upon which Lunt swore a bloody Oath he would turn off Womball and Wilson, and make them return to their old Employs.

After this, Lunt and I went to the place appointed, which was the Ship Ale-House in Butcher-Row without Temple Bar, where the Gentlemen came and sent for me, and told me they would willingly defer this till the next day; but I, being unwilling they should, told them Lunt would suspect something if they delayed it, and used such Arguments as Mr. Bancks was resolved to speak with Lunt, and accordingly met him. As soon as Mr. Bancks was seen by Lunt, Lunt complimented him, and told him he was happy to be concern'd with Gentlemen, for that he had to do with

a parcel of Mechanicks, who knew nothing but what he told them, and said he would put them off, if Mr. Bancks would join with him: Mr. Bancks seemed very modest, and said he would be glad to get Money, but at that time was not prepared to undertake a business of that Consequence, having been in Company all that Day; tho' he then desired Mr. Lunt to give him some insight into the business; upon which Lunt drew out his Narrative; it was written for us in good form by Captain Baker's Clark; Lunt gave it us to Read, and Mr. Bancks said he knew nothing of the matter, and asked Lunt what he must do? Sir, said Lunt, you must swear all this is true. I am, adding he, upon Counterfeiting Commissions, and you must have a Commission from one of the Gentlemen in Custody: But Mr. Bancks, can you Write a good hand; for if you can, says Lunt, you must Write it your self, for we must not trust too many in our affairs. I do not Write well, says Mr. Bancks; but how can you Counterfeit King James's hand? I have, says Lunt, an old Commission in my Pocket, and have likewise my Lord Melford's hand, and we will have all the Commissions signed King James, and drop them in some Houses, that when Mr. Smith sends to search the Houses, they may find the Commissions; which we will swear were the same King James sent by me to the Gentlemen in Custody, and several others; for, says he, I intend to go all over England with my Plot, if you will join heartily with me, and bring some Friends with you that will swear the same things with us. Then Lunt told Mr. Bancks he was to have been in Dodsworth's Plot, but he refused it, because he said he was to have a Plot of his own. Mr. Bancks reply'd, that he had a Friend that understood those things better than himself, and desired Lunt to meet him the next day, to which Lunt consented, so we parted.

Next day Mr. Bancks met some Lawyers, who advised him, unknown to me, to acquaint my Lord Chief Justice with what he had done: Upon which I found Mr. Bancks somewhat strange to me, and not assigning any Reason for so doing, I went to Madam Dickenson to find out some body else to go with me to Lunt, according to

Mr. Bancks's promise, or else the business would be ruined. Whilst Madam Dickenson and I were talking, in came Roger Dickenson, whose Sister had no sooner propos'd our desires to him, but he offered himself freely, and went with me to a little Coffee House in Fetter-Lane, next the Globe Tavern, where I left him, and went to see for Lunt, who was not at his Lodging, but as soon as he came, ran to us where we were, and made this excuse for his absence, that Mr. Aaron Smith sent him to John Wilson the Prisoner with two Shirts, for that he intended to make him a Witness. In short, Dickenson and Lunt fell on the business; Lunt asked Dickenson his Name? he answered Howard. Then Lunt asked what Religion he was of? Dickenson answered of the Church of England. Then Lunt swore a great Oath, you shall have your Commission from Mr. Leigh of Lime, for he is of that Religion. Then Dickenson began to swear as fast as Lunt, that he would do any thing to get money, but he was not acquainted with any of the Gentlemen in Custody. But that you must know, reply'd Lunt, and I will shew you them, and give you in writing what you shall swear. Then Dickenson said he knew Roger Dickenson, and Lunt said, he knew Roger Dickenson, and all the rest of the Dickensons, and would in a short time take them all up. Capt. Howard reply'd, he would help to swear against Roger Dickenson in particular, but was unwilling to swear without a good Reward. Lunt said, we shall have a third part of the Estates of the Gentlemen in Custody, and then, said Lunt, we will turn off Womball and Wilson, and deal with none but you and your Friends, and we will go all over England, and hang whom we please; and if they will not give us the whole sum allow'd, we will, said he, go to the Secretary of State our selves, and have the whole credit of the business. We will, said he, counterfeit Commissions, and you must have one from Mr. Leigh of Lime, and you must swear you had it from his own hands; in the mean time you must swear to be true to me: Upon this they desired me to go out of the Room, and after they had been together a while, they called me back again, and told me they had appointed to meet again at four in the Afternoon, and then go over the Water, or into the Savoy, and

get the Commissions counterfeited; upon which we parted, and Lunt and I, according to our appointment, came to the above named Coffee-House; where we were no sooner entred, but in comes one of Lunt's Wives, and takes him Prisoner; upon which Lunt mistrusts Capt. Howard, and I my self knew not what to think of it, till I saw Mr. Bancks and Mr. Dickenson come in, who hearing there was a Constable, began to mistrust there was a trick put upon them; they therefore got away, and I followed them into the Street, and told them what the matter was, at which they seem'd to be concern'd; after which I went to Lunt again, and staid with him till Aaron Smith came, who hector'd Lunt's Wife at a strange Rate, threatning what he would do to her, for taking up the King's Evidence. Then he called for a Coach, and said he would give bail for Lunt's appearance, and desired me to go with him in the Coach. As we were going, he swore he knew not what to do in relation to Lunt, and asked my advice. I answer'd, that Lunt was an ill Man, and I was sure had two Wives at least; upon which he fell into such a Passion, that I thought he would have flung himself headlong out of the Coach into the Street. When his passion was over, he told me I must not go with him before my Lord Mayor, lest his Lordship should examine me, and I should speak the Truth, for, said Mr. Smith, I intend to make my Lord Mayor believe Lunt is an honest Man, and that it is but a trick of the Papists to take him up for being a King's Evidence. He then desired me to go home, I willingly did, for I began to be weary of his Company. In the Evening I called at Capt. Baker's Office, where I found Lunt telling the day's Passages, little suspecting the design we had to discover his Roguery: Then he desired me to go to Capt. Howard, and tell him he would meet him next morning; but Lunt was ignorant of what we had done: Yet Mr. Aaron Smith, at my Lord Chief Justice's, or somewhere else, found out what we were doing, who accordingly acquainted Capt. Baker with it, who kept Lunt out of the way till the Tryal. In the mean time they threatned me, and Baker sent for me the Night before he went out of Town, and asked me who that Captain Howard was. I said he was Lunt's Acquaintance, and desired him to ask

Lunt, whereupon he perceived I banter'd him: He then menac'd me, saying the Law would be very severe upon those that endeavoured to put tricks upon the King's Evidence. I answered, I had not offended the Law, and therefore the Law could not meddle with me. I offered to go with him to the Secretary; upon this he told me the Secretary would commit me, I then retired. The next morning they went out of Town, taking my Bridle and Saddle with them, saying nothing to me; whereupon I took Post, and went to Manchester, where I was told that Lunt and the Messengers had reported that they left me in Newgate, for endeavouring to corrupt the King's Evidence.

My intention is here to give no account of the Tryals, of which the Reader may be better informed by many able Lawyers that were present; only one thing I must not forget to acquaint the World with, viz. That as soon as Mr. Aaron Smith had heard the Names of the Gentlemen's Witnesses, he fell sick, or feigned himself so, knowing very well, that when I was called, I could discover the Mystery of his Plot. I call it his Plot, because he framed and fashioned the Depositions: He bailed Lunt, and made my Lord Mayor believe he was an honest Man; it was he that threatned to have me punished, when he heard I made it my business to detect the Villainy of his Witnesses. In a word, I need say no more, he being so very well known.]

Mr Allenson swore that Mr Taffe had a design of discovering the matter sooner, but relates the particulars why Mr Taffe did not.

Mr Roger Dicconson, brother to Wm Dicconson Esq. one of the Prisoners, being next produced as a witness for the Prisoners, said, he being on the 1st of October 1694 to pay a visit to his sister Dicconson, she told him that there was one Mr Taffe in the house by whose means he might discover what the design was against the Lancashire Gentlemen, and asked him if he would undertake to follow Mr Taffe's directions for the discovery thereof? which, when

he had heard, he readily undertook; and he discovered the whole Plott.(1)

M^r^ Parkinson, witness for the Prisoners, declared that in July last he met with Lunt at an Alehouse called Peel, and that he told him the s^d^ M^r^ Parkinson that he must call him the s^d^ Lunt Capt^n^ Smith, and that he was Capt^n^ of a Troop of Dutch Horse then lying in Wiggan, and was turned informer for the King, and desired M^r^ Parkinson to engage with him in informing against the Lancashire Gentlemen, as great riches might be got by the business &c.

Simon Appleby swore that he knew George Wilson the before mentioned witness for the King in May 1693; he Simon Appleby was Chamberlain at the Bear and Ragged Staff in Smithfield, and that there was a person who then called himself Johnson, but is the same person who now has been giving his evidence for the King by the name of Lunt, that Lunt and Wilson were often together in private with pen and paper, and Wilson used to bragg what money he got &c.

(1) The successful management of the discovery of the plot is ascribed by Dr. Hibbert Ware (*Hist. Coll. Ch. of Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 36) to this Mr. Dicconson, and he it was who, according to the same authority, by introducing some of the accused under reversed names, enabled Sir Rowland Stanley to lead the principal witness astray in his attempt to identify them at the bar, which made so much in the prisoners' favour. According to Wagstaffe, Mr. Roger Dicconson gave evidence that, getting into Lunt's company by Mr. Taffe's means, the former asked his name, to which he replied, Howard. An honourable name, said Lunt, it will be for the credit of the cause; that he asked what religion the witness was of, and on his answering, of the Church of England, he said it is well, and told him he must swear that he received a commission from Mr. Legh of Lyme, because he is a Protestant; that Lunt then asked the witness whether he knew these gentlemen, and on his answering Yes, he said that is well; that he then told the witness that he Lunt had delivered a commission with his own hands to Roger Dicconson (the witness to whom he was speaking under the assumed name of Howard) and enquired whether the witness knew him; that the witness informed him he knew Roger Dicconson very well, and Lunt said, then things will go on finely.—*Letter out of Lancashire.*

Richard Edge swore that George Wilson had been tryed at Lancaster for stealing 4 Cows(1) and burnt in the hand.

Simon Arrowsmith, under Gaoler of Lancaster, swore that he held fast the iron whilst Wilson was burnt in the hand.

William Tomlinson swore that he saw the same Wilson burnt in the hand for stealing 4 Cows from M^{r} Walmsley.

Walter Thelwall, Steward to M^{r} Blundell, swore that when his Master's house was searched George Womball stole one pound, eight shillings and sixpence, which was found upon him, and the King's Messengers paid the money back.

M^{rs} Bridgett swore to the same purpose as M^{r} Thelwall had done.

Will^{m} Ashton, a witness for the Prisoners, said he knew Womball, and that they were both broken Carriers; they met together in London. Womball told him he was a King's Messenger, and had been in Lancashire and Cheshire taking up severall Papists who were then in the Tower, and wanted him the s^{d} Ashton to be employed in the business of swearing against persons, by which means he might acquire a good livelihood, but he was refused by Ashton &c.

Tho^{s} Greenhalgh swore he heard Womball say G— dam Standish — I'll have his blood.

John Brown witnessed the same.

M^{r} Rich^{d} Shone swore he had heard Coll^{l} Brereton say G— dam Sir Roland Stanley and his Cousin Legh of Lyme, they were 2

(1) Ferguson says he was tried and convicted for this offence before Mr. Baron Turton.

pitifull fellows and would give him nothing, and he would be revenged of them when time served.

Mr Shone's Wife, a witness for Sir Roland Stanley, testified the same.

Mr Farrer testified the same as Mr Shone and Wife had done.

Dr Williamson, another witness, said the same as Mr Shone and Wife had done, and added, he had heard Mr Brereton say that he would have Sr Roland Stanley's blood, and that at another time he had heard the sd Mr Brereton say he had murdered a man in France, and was forced to fly from thence for that reason.

Mr Robert Rothwell swore that Sir Roland Stanley was not at Croxteth or elsewhere in Lancashire in any parts of the Months of June or July 1689, which time he the sd Mr Rothwell did constantly dress and undress his Master Sir Roland morning and evening at his house, Hooton in Cheshire, all that time.

Mrs Elizabeth swore she waited on Sr Roland Stanley's Lady at that time, and swore to the truth of what Mr Rothwell said.

Mr Willm Blundell, who waited on Sr Roland Stanley after Mr Rothwell left him, testified the same.

Dorothy Taylor, Chambermaid to Sir Roland, testified the same.

Mr Francis Jackson,(1) an ensign of the Militia of Cheshire, swore he had searched Sir Roland Stanley's house at Hooton seve-

(1) This witness made the subjoined deposition after the trial :—
Francis Jackson of the City of Chester, maketh Oath, that in or about the Month of July 1694, he this Deponent being a Constable, did receive from the Hands of Sir John Mainwaring two Warrants of High Treason under the hands of

ral times, but never found any Arms but a case of pistols and a carbine and 2 birding pieces, and that S^r^ Roland always behaved very peaceably and quiet.

M^r^ Gilbert Heyes, Steward to Sir Tho^s^ Clifton, testified that Sir Tho^s^ was not at Croxteth in the months of June or July 1689, as Lunt had sworn.

Roger, Sir Tho^s^ Clifton's Groom, declared the same.

Thomas Patten Esq.(1) produced as a witness on behalf of Sir Tho^s^ Clifton. Declared that he being one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Lancashire in the year 1689, received orders from the Lord Lieutenant to secure severall Popish Gentlemen, that amongst them Sir Tho^s^ Clifton was one who was taken and brought Prisoner to Preston, upon the 16^th^ day of June 1689. That Sir Tho^s^ being a very infirm man, and unfitt to be carried so far as Manchester, which was the place where the rest of the Popish Gentlemen then made prisoners were secured, M^r^ Patten undertook for Sir Tho^s^, and

one or both of the then Secretaries of State, against Sir Rowland Stanley and Mr. —— Massey of Puddington, and likewise for the Seizing of all Arms and Accowtrements of War, belonging to them: and this Deponent in pursuance of the said Warrants, did Apprehend and take into Custody the said Sir Rowland Stanley, and did deliver him into the Castle of Chester to the Deputy Governour thereof; but could not find the said Massey: But this Deponent did find and seize in a dark Room of the House of the said Massey (put into a Chest cover'd with an old long Pillow) nine new dragoons' Saddles as this Deponent doth believe, with Buckles, Rings and Staples to them for breast-Plates, Holsters and Cloaks, with Cruppers, Girts and Stirrups to them all new, and six new half Cheek bit-Bridles.

Jurat 14. die
Febr. 169⅞ Francis Jackson.
Coram,
Sam. Eyre.

(1) This is the same person before whom some of the depositions for the Crown had been sworn. He resided at Preston, was lord of the manor of Thornley, and a barrister at law. He was M.P. for Preston in 1688, and died at that place about 1697. He was a collateral ancestor of Mr. Wilson Patten, the present respected member for North Lancashire.

prevailed to have him kept at Mr Patten's own house in Preston, where he continued prisoner, and was not discharged till January following at which time all the Gentlemen were set at liberty. That during Sir Thos Clifton's confinement he expressed to the said Thomas Patten much zeal and affection to the present Government, saying how much the persons of his religion ought to be satisfied with their usage, as putting no difference betwixt them and other Subjects, save in the public exercise of their Religion, so long as they themselves would be quiet; that he often protested for himself that he could never endure to think of practising any change, and Mr Patten further said that he knew Sir Thomas's disposition to have always been peaceable and quiet.

Then Mr Dicconson prayed leave of the Court that he might call witnesses to prove that Mr Walmsley was not in England in February 1691, that he was not at Dunkenhalgh as Mr Lunt had sworn in any part of that year, or the year before, or ever since till about May last, therefore Mr Walmsley could not deliver a Commission to him the said Mr Dicconson to be his Lieutenant Coll[l].

Sir Henry Wingfield declared that he became particularly acquainted with Mr Walmsley, one of the Prisoners, at Pontoise in France, about the month of August 1691, and from thence 'till the month of June 1692. Sir Henry affirmed that Mr Walmsley continued in France, for that he the s[d] Sir Henry dined, or visited Mr Walmsley in France twice or thrice a week all that time.

Mr John Perkins, Governor to Sir Henry Wingfield, declared to the truth of what Sir Henry testified.

Mr Widrington, brother to Lord Widrington, testified to what Sir Henry swore.

Mr Robert Wingate, who waited on Mr Walmsley in his chamber, declared that he went out of England with his Master into

France in January 1688/9, and lived with him there — that Mr Walmsley his Master continued in that Kingdom till about May last — that constantly morning and evening he dressed and undressed his sd Master — that he was but one week in anno 1693 absent in all that time and that Mr Walmsley was never 20 leagues from Paris excepting once at the Waters of Forges in Normandy.

Thomas Braddyl Esq. a Justice of Peace, the next witness called, said he lived within 2 or three miles from Dunkenhalgh, Mr Walmsley's House, and never heard that Mr Walmsley was there since he left England in the year 1689, and verily believed that Mr Walmsley and so many Gentlemen with him could not have met there but that he the sd Mr Braddyl, being so near a neighbour, should have heard something of it, which he affirmed he never did.

Mr Dicconson offered to call more witnesses to prove the same thing, but the Court was so well satisfied in this matter, that they would not suffer any more to be called.

After Mr Dicconson had thus concluded his evidence, Mr Langton, another of the Prisoners, moved the Court saying — I hope your Lordships do observe for me that the same evidence that has been given on behalf of Mr Dicconson proves as direct for me, that I could receive no Commission from Mr Walmsley at that time, he being as you have heard in France.

After which Mr Blundell moved the Court as follows:

My Lords, I have not the same advantage as the rest of the Gentlemen have had against Lunt's testimony to disprove him in that part of the evidence he has given, that I was at Croxteth in June or July 1689; for, my Lords, I live a neighbour to Croxteth, and I must own I have visited the Lord Molyneux as a neighbour. What I can say is, how unfitt a person I am for any such command as Mr Lunt has given me let any person judge, who

am lame both of my hands and feet,(1) and cannot get upon a horse without help. To which Mr Justice Eyre replied, But were you on horseback you could ride.

The Prisoners having thus concluded their Evidence, the King's Counsell and the Prisoners both declined to sum it up to the Jury, but referred it wholly to the Court to do, and Mr Justice Eyre repeating the evidence on both sides, concluded to the Jury:

Gentlemen,

There is a Mystery of Iniquity on one side — If we believe the evidence for the King it is plain there hath been a great Contrivance to bring in the French amongst us and raise a Rebellion here, and that these Gentlemen were actors in it.—But if you believe that this is a contrivance of Lunt and the rest to ruin these Gentlemen at the Barr, and to take away their lives and estates hoping to enrich themselves thereby, as the witnesses for the Prisoners have declared, then the fault will lie more upon the accusers: if you do believe it to be so — the Gentlemen then are innocent — and you must acquit them.

Then Mr Justice Eyre said to the Jury:

Gentlemen,

This is a matter that deserves great consideration; we have sat here a long time — we will adjourn for 2 hours and then

(1) Both the Blundells were lame. How the father's disability occurred we learn very graphically from his letter dated 2nd May 1687, of which Mr. Baines has given an extract. In that letter he says: "I cannot pretend to any great degree of merit, yet it is my opinion that there are few alive at the present of those y^t^ served y^e^ king at the beginning of our civil warrs in 1642 that suffer'd so much for the crown and acted so little for it as I have done . . . . . In y^e^ first day of my services before I had muster'd y^e^ 100 dragoons w^ch^ I was by commission raising, I lost y^e^ use of my limbs by a shott, and could never recover them since to make them sufficiently able for the fatigue of war . . . . . After I was lamed in y^e^ war, tho' I could not use a sword, I was 4 times made a prisoner and payd my ransom twice.—Baines, vol. iv. pp. 216, 217." It was Mr. William Blundell the son, I apprehend, who was now on his trial. How his lameness arose nowhere appears.

come into Court again. In the mean you are to consider how credible the testimony is which has been given against the witnesses for the King. A Bayliff was then sworn to keep the Jury, but they saying they needed no time, turned themselves together, and after a short stay agreed upon their Verdict without going out of Court, and being called over, and the Prisoners set severally at the Barr, and the Court demanding of the Jury to each of the Prisoners whether guilty or not guilty, they gave their Verdict apart—"Not guilty."

Then Mr Justice Eyre said to the Gentlemen acquitted:

Gentlemen,

You see under what a mercifull and easy Government you live. You are sensible now that it is tender of the lives of Papists as well as Protestants: you are washed from this guilt—let me desire you to reflect on that happiness, and beware of ever entering into Plotts and Conspiracies against the Government.

Monday 22nd. The Lord Molineux, Sir Willm Gerard, and Bartholomew Walmsley Esq. were brought to the Barr, and the impanell which were first returned, all Gentlemen of Quality being called, Sir Edwd Chisenhall their Foreman excused himself to the Court from that service, having as he said been challenged by the King's Counsell on Saturday, and saying, if he was not then thought fitt to serve he supposed he was not fitt now—but the Court disallowing the excuse, he was called to the Book and sworn, and so were the rest, without any challenge on either side. The Indictments against the Prisoners were severally opened, and the Jury charged with the Prisoners—but no witnesses appearing against them in Court, Mr Justice Eyre told the Jury that they must acquit them unless they of their own knowledge knew something against them. So the Jury turning themselves together immediately gave in their Verdict to each of the Prisoners apart—"Not guilty."

Then Mr Justice Eyre said:

Gentlemen,

You that are acquitted — you have a very pregnant instance shewn to you that the Court refuse to give credit, or so much as an ear to what the witnesses on Saturday have sworn to, and since there is none to accuse you, I don't condemn you. Gentlemen — Most of you if not all have been brought up in France, where the complexion of the Government is much different from this of ours — here the King rules by Law — there his will and pleasure is Law; and therefore let me advise you to study to be quiet and every one to mind his own business, and not to follow them that are given to change. Gentlemen, No question but the Jesuists will be ready enough to suggest alteration, but you'll never be bettered by alteration. Remember, Gentlemen, that they are persons who have no Estates to lose, and they will not care for ruining yours if they have but hopes of getting any thing thereby. Let me therefore say to you, "Go and sin no more lest a worse thing befall you."

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APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

EXAMINATIONS RESPECTING THE LANCASHIRE PLOT, TAKEN AFTER THE TRIALS AT MANCHESTER.

The Information of Edward Brown(1) *of Langtree in the Parish of Standish and County of Lancaster.*

This Informant upon his Oath deposeth and saith, that about the beginning of the Year 1690, there came a Man to the House of William Standish of Standish-Hall in the County of Lancaster aforesaid Esq; who went by the Name of Capt. Brathet, and this Informant was told, that he was sent by King James out of Ireland to consult with the Roman Catholic Gentlemen in Lancashire, about raising of Men and buying of Arms for the service of the said King James, in order to bring him into England, and that there was then a Meeting of several Roman Catholic Gentlemen, to consult about the said Affair; and this Informant further saith, that about the same Time, there was a Man came to the said Standish-Hall, who went by the Name of Mr. Dodsworth, who (as this Informant was told, by the said Mr. Standish) was to have been an Officer in an Army design'd to be

(1) This witness, when he gave his evidence, was a prisoner for debt in Lancaster Castle. He had been a servant at Standish Hall, and his statements respecting his master are open to the suspicion which always infects the evidence of a discarded servant speaking against his master. He is so careful in relating the attempts made to buy him off and his resisting them, that one cannot help suspecting that he was open to the best offer.

rais'd for the Service of the late King James, but being disappointed of his said Officer's Place, he the said Dodsworth came to London, and made a Discovery of the Design to the Parliament.(1)

And this Deponent further saith, that in, or about, the Month of May 1691, he this Deponent, bought six Case of Pistols of one Elizabeth Small, Widdow, who liv'd near Warrington in the said County of Lancaster, and who at the same Time had three Case of Pistols more, and three Carbines, which this Deponent would have bought of her, but she said, they were bought and paid for before, saying, she had sold one Case of the said Pistols and one Carbine, to one Richard Booth of Ouston near the said Warrington; and further said, that she had great Quantities of Arms a little before, but had lately sold them; and this Informant enquiring of her where she bought the said Arms, she told him at Liverpool, and this Informant paid her seven Pounds for the said six Pair of Pistols, which he bought of her, which Money he receiv'd from the said Mr. Standish of Standish-Hall, who about a Month before had given him the said Sum, to buy Arms with: And further saith, that as he was carrying of the said six Case of Pistols, which he bought as aforesaid, the Bag which they were put in burst, he this Informant thereupon went to one Edward Brown of Round Moore in the said Parish of Standish, who lent him another Bag and saw the said Pistols put therein, after which, this Informant deliver'd the same into the said Mr. Standish's own Hands, Thomas Hatton, and John Sharp (two of the said Mr. Standish's Servants) being then present, and the said Mr. Standish did at the same time Order this Informant to buy what Pistols and Carbines he could procure, and he should have Money for them, and the said Mr. Standish did then declare to this Informant, that if King James landed in England, there would be Men enough to take up the said Arms. And this Informant saith, that four Days after the Delivery of the said Arms as aforesaid, Mr. Townley of Townley in the said County of Lancaster and his Servant whose name is Nicholas Rigby, came to the said Standish-Hall, and had the aforesaid six Case of Pistols deliver'd to him by the said Thomas Hatton, being pack'd up in a Box cover'd with Lawrel, and one Thomas Fox a Servant to the said Mr. Standish, was appointed to go with the said Rigby, as a Guard to the said Mr. Townley's of Townley.

(1) If it was meant by this statement to set up the credibility of Robert Dodsworth, it seems a strange way of effecting the object.

And this Informant further saith, that about the Year 1691, or beginning of the Year 1692, there came to the said Standish-Hall, one who went by the Name of Mr. Green in public Company, but privately in the said Mr. Standish's Family was call'd Coll. Parker, who kept two Servants, his Gentleman who went by the Name of Gandy a French-Man, and one Thomas Merrick his Groom; and further saith, that he hath several times seen in Company together at the said Standish-Hall, the Lord Molyneux's Son, Sir William Gerrard's eldest Son, William Dickinson of Wrightington Esq; Mr. Blundell of Crosby, Mr. Townley of Townley, the said Mr. Green (or Coll. Parker), the said Mr. Standish and divers others, and heard it discours'd amongst them, that they would all be ready upon King James's landing in England, with Men and Arms to serve him. And this Informant further saith, that he knows John Womball very well, and hath seen him several times at Standish-Hall aforesaid, amongst the Gentlemen last mention'd, who seem'd to be very familiar with him, and hath heard it discours'd at the said Standish-Hall, that the said Womball us'd frequently to carry Arms from London to the said Standish-Hall, for the Roman Catholic Gentlemen in Lancashire: And this Informant further saith, that the said John Sharp Servant to the said Mr. Standish, was imploy'd by his said Master Standish and others, to list Men for the late King James' Service, and the said Sharp in pursuance of his said Orders did List several Men for the said Service at Preston, Legh, Wiggan, the said Standish Town, and other Places, gave them one Shilling to each Man listing Money, and promis'd them half a Crown a Day, when they serv'd under the respective Officers they were listed under, and the Men so listed us'd frequently to meet the said Sharp at the said Standish Town.

And this Informant further saith, that about the 24th June 1695, one Rodger Emer of Standish, told this Informant, that he had then in his Custody several Swords, Pistols and Saddles and two Kettle Drums, which Drums were brought to the said Emer by Thomas Smith of Park Brooke in the said Parish of Standish, all which Arms, Saddles and Kettle Drums were Mr. Standish's of Standish aforesaid, and remov'd from Standish-Hall, for fear of being seiz'd by some of the King's Messengers, when the Lancashire Gentlemen were taken up about two Years since.

And this Informant further saith, that in or about November last, a little after he had given in an Information before Coll. Kirby and two other of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County of Lan-

caster, the said John Sharp came to this Informant, who was then a Prisoner in Lancaster-Castle, and seem'd to be very angry with him, and told this Informant, that he had discover'd some of their Designs to a deal of Rogues, but before May last either the late King James or some one else would come into England, and then this Informant and all the Rogues else should be cut off.

And this Informant further saith, that in August 1695, at the Assizes then held at Lancaster-Castle, at which Assizes Mr. John Lunt, Wilson and Womball were try'd upon an Information of Perjury; and this Informant seeing one Thomas Hatton in the said Castle-Yard a little before the said Tryal, ask'd him how he thought the Tryal would go: Who answer'd, that all Things would go very well, for that Sir John Fenwick (who as this Informant was told, was then in Lancashire) would take Care, that Lunt, Wilson and Womball should all be convicted of Perjury, and the Lancashire Gentlemen all clear'd.

And this Informant further saith, that within 3 or 4 Days after he had given in his Information before three Justices of the Peace, as aforesaid, there came to him into Lancaster-Castle (he being then a Prisoner there for Debt) one John Rigby an Inhabitant of the said Parish of Standish, and told this Informant, that the Gentlemen (naming no particular Person) had taken Care, that his Debts should be Paid, and he released out of Prison, provided he would go with him to such a private Place, as the Gentlemen would appoint, where this Informant, his Wife and Children might privately live out of the Way, and the Gentlemen would take Care, they should be well maintain'd, to the intent he might not be found by the Government, to justify what he had upon his Oath deposed in the said Information: And that he had brought a Horse for this Informant for that purpose, aforesaid.

And this Informant further saith, that the said Rigby further told this Informant, that he had a Letter from one Mr. John Haddock a Rich Quaker in the said Standish Parish (who us'd to supply the said Mr. Standish and others, with several Sums of Money upon Purchase and Mortgages) to his Friend one Henry Coward, a Shopkeeper in Lancaster, the Purport of the Letter (as the said Rigby told this Informant) was to let Rigby have what Money he pleas'd, in order to give this Informant in case of his Acceptance of the Gentlemen's said Offer, but this Informant denying to go with the said Rigby, who staid three Days in Lancaster for the

said purpose, within two Hours was immediately after his so denying, put in Fetters(1) by the Gaoler of the said Lancaster-Castle that now is.

And this Informant further saith, that in December 1694, when the Lancashire Conspiracy was under Examination before the House of Commons, he was sent for by the said Mr. Standish of Standish, who desir'd this Informant to go to London with some of his Servants, who were to be Evidence in the said Affair before the Parliament, to the intent he might corroborate what they said: Withal telling this Informant, that he needed not be any ways afraid what he said in the House of Commons, in the said Matter; for that he was not to be upon his Oath.

And this Informant further saith, that a little after the House of Commons sent a Messenger for the said Mr. Standish, he the said Standish told this Informant, that his Wife had given the said Messenger a Mare and Money, so that the said Messenger was return'd to London without effecting his Message.

Edward Brown.

Mr. John Edward's Affidavit.

Mr. John Edwards Vicar of Redland in Flintshire, maketh Oath, and saith, he knows George Wilson one of the Defendants in this case,(2) and that he was an Innkeeper in the said Town of Redland, near or about the year 1685, to the beginning of the year 1689, to his Personal Knowledg; That the said Wilson was a person of good repute, most of the Neighbouring Gentlemen in the County using his House: That the said Wilson unhappily entertaining some Irishmen after they were Disbanded and broke up from Hounslow and Salisbury; contrary to the Perswasions of this Deponent, and several other Friends to his Knowledge; and he this Deponent hath been informed, that the said Wilson assisted one Brom-

(1) Strange treatment of a prisoner for debt!

(2) This evidence was given when Wilson and the rest were about to be tried for perjury. The evidence given by the vicar as to the character of Wilson strangely contrasts with the evidence on the same subject given on the trial of the prisoners at Manchester. But a man who is in trouble can generally find generous people ready to speak to his character; and I once heard Lord Brougham, when at the bar, jocularly observe, that he never knew any prisoner sentenced to be hanged at Lancaster who had not a good character.

field a Quaker to get Passage for Ireland to go to King James; but this Deponent saith, he knew nothing thereof till Bromfield was gone. And this Deponent further saith, that the said Wilson was at that time reputed to be of the Romish Perswasion; and that this matter being known, some of the Earl of Meath's Regiment came and seized several Persons in that Part of the Country for being Papists, upon which the said Wilson was forced to fly, and returned no more publickly to his House; but whither he retired himself this Deponent knows not; but this Deponent supposeth for want of time to dispose of his Concerns, left several Debts to pay, which if it had not been for those unhappy Circumstances, this Deponent doth believe might have been honestly paid. And this Deponent further saith, that he hath had considerable Business with the said Wilson in respect of Tythes, and several other matters, and had very honest dealing from him.

Jo. Edwards.

Capt. & Jurat' 8. die
Febr. 1695,
Coram me,
Tho. Rokeby.

Elizabeth Hearst's Affidavit.

Elizabeth Hearst of the Hough in the County of Lancaster, maketh Oath, That last Summer was twelve Months, in the year 1694, when John Womball and others were seizing of Horses in the said County, she this Deponent desired the said Womball to go no longer abroad upon that account, and also to leave any further prosecuting the matter against the Gentlemen in the said County, and she this Deponent would give him the said Womball One Hundred Pounds, and moreover that he the said Womball should never want; and that 'twas the only way to prevent a distraction amongst the Gentlemen, but that he the said Womball refused so to do, and that after the late Trials at Manchester, when the General Voice of the Country went, that Womball was to be set on the Pillory, she this Deponent went to one Houghton a Romish Priest, and told him, that she heard Womball was whipt, and Pillored; he advised her to go home, and be satisfied, for there was no such thing; and that Womball had sworn nothing but what was Truth, and the Gentlemen

were satisfied in it; But that the Gentlemen were Men of great Estates and would do what in them lay to save themselves, for Life was sweet. Some time before which one John Brown, menial Servant to William Standish of Standish, Esq; lay all Night at her House, and told her, that if Womball would have been content to have left off the Prosecution of the Gentlemen aforesaid, his Master speaking, William Standish Esq; would have settled One hundred Pounds a year upon him. And also this Deponent saith, that one Cuthbert Thrillfall, Son of Edmund Thrillfall of the Ashes in Goosner in the said County, and one Bacon, that was with him said, that John Lunt came over with Edmund Thrillfall, Father of the said Cuthbert, and brought over Commissions with them from King James then in Ireland, and that both Father and Son were to be Captains; and that this Deponent knew the said Lunt, and that he the said Lunt went from place to place as this Deponent was informed, to Gather Money, and that she this Deponent Contributed thereunto;

El. Hearst.

Jurat' 8. die Febr.
1695. Coram,
Tho. Rokeby.

Lawrence Brandon's Affidavit.

Lawrence Brandon of Pennington in the County of Lancaster maketh Oath, that he knows William Standish of Standish-Hall in the said County, Esq; and his Son, commonly called the Young Lord of Standish; and that about May in the year 1691, this Deponent being invited by one James Leightagh to go with him, and several other Persons to dine at Standish-Hall aforesaid; and upon such Invitation this Deponent and the rest did go to Standish Town in the way to the said Hall, and being at the said Town, it was agreed on between the said James Leightagh, and the rest of the Company rather to dine at the said Town of Standish, than to go to the Hall, because there seemed some difference like to arise between the said Leightagh and John Neyler on the one part, and John Sharp Servant to the said Mr. Standish, and James Hayes on the other part, concerning the Places of Quarter-Master and Corporal of a Troop of Horse to be raised by the said Mr. Standish for the Service of King James, which was promised to the said Leightagh and Neyler; and

the said Sharp and Hayes pretended unto the same; Whereupon the Deponent and the rest of the Company did dine at Standish Town at the Charges of the said Leightagh and John Neyler, and after Dinner they went from thence to Standish-Hall, where in the Kitchen, the said Leightagh and Neyler met the said Sharp and Hayes, and after some Discourses on both sides concerning the Places aforesaid, the said Sharp and Hayes were contented to quit their Pretensions to the same, and consented that Leightagh and Neyler should have the same. Upon which Agreement the said Leightagh and Neyler desired to speak with Mr. Standish, and bid this Deponent and the rest of the Company to follow them, which they did, and were conducted into a Parlour, where the Young Lord of Standish was; and being told by the said Leightagh and Neyler, that they had brought Men to be Listed under his Command, he wellcomed this Deponent and the rest, and made them sit round the Room, and made them drink, and told them, that the Nation had a great deal of wrong done by Banishing King James, that was their Rightful King, and that the design in hand was to do no Body wrong, but only to bring in their lawful King; and that some Aid for that purpose was shortly expected to come out of France and Ireland into England, and that they did design upon the News of the Landing of any Foreign Forces to make a general Rising of such Forces as they could procure for the said Service; and hoped they were willing, and would be ready to serve their King and Country on this Occasion; and assured them that they should go no further than he would lead them. And that upon their consenting and promising to be ready at his Command the said Young Lord of Standish went out of the Room, and soon after returned with a Horseman's naked Sword, and bending the Blade thereof by way of Trial, shewed it to the Company, and told them, they should be furnished with no worse than that, and should have Pistols, Holsters, Saddles, and all other Accoutrements fit for Troopers. And having some farther Consultation with the said Young Lord what course they should take to provide Horses, in case they should be called suddenly to meet, it was agreed, that such as had Horses of their own should make use of them, and those that had none should take the first they could meet with, and immediately upon any Alarm or notice, come to Standish Hall to rendezvous. That after Directions about the Horses were given, some of the Company being apprehensive that Mr. Standish the Father might be offended, in case they should agree to go under the Command of his Son without his Consent,

desired to speak with him, to be satisfied therein. Whereupon they sent to speak with him, and he came to them into the Hall, where being asked the question aforesaid, he told them all, it was indifferent to him whether they chose to go under the Command of himself or his Son; and such as were not willing to go with his Son should be welcome to go with him, for their design was all one, and that was to bring again King James; or words to that effect. Whereupon about twelve of the Company (among whom this Deponent was one) made choice to go with the Young Lord, and the Remainder, being to his remembrance the greater number, did resolve to go with Mr. Standish the Father; and then the Company divided, and this Deponent and those that had made their Election, went again into the Parlour to the young Lord, and drank some short time, and at their taking their leaves of him he gave them a word by which they should know one another, which was, Go thy way old Trip; and then they parted from the said House to Wigan, in the way whither the said John Neyler overtook this Deponent and his Company, and told them he had brought some Money from Standish-Hall to be drunk by them, and carried them to the House of James Green in Wigan aforesaid, where he staid with them some time and drank the Health of King James and their Captains, and then left them. And this Deponent farther saith, that at his this Deponent's Return to his own House, his Wife being informed that he had Listed himself a Soldier for King James, would not let this Deponent rest or be at quiet until he had promised not to concern himself any farther in the matter. Upon which he this Deponent never went near them any more.

Lawrence Brandon.

Jurat' 11. Feb.
1695, Cor' me,
Tho. Rokeby.

The Affidavit of Mrs. Agnes Barker.

Who upon her Oath saith, That in or about the latter end of the Month of February, or beginning of March, which was Anno Dom. 1689, Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton in the County of Chester, Baronet, bought two Horses, viz, the one a Stoned Horse, and the other a Gelding of this Informant's Husband (at the value of forty Pounds); and this Informant also

saith, That the said Sir Rowland, being a Roman Catholick, and the late King James then in Ireland, desired this Informant's Husband to take the Horses back for a while to his own House; and after this Informant's Husband had kept the said Horses a Week, he sent this Informant to the said Sir Rowland at his own House, to acquaint him that in regard the said Horses were troublesome desired they might be fetcht away; upon which the said Sir Rowland desired this Informant to use her endeavour to her Husband, that he would keep the Horses a while longer (because he could not with Safety keep them himself) he then expressing, that he expected the King speedily over (which this Informant conceived to be King James) and doubted not but the next light Moon would bring him over: Whereunto this Informant reply'd, that she thought it not convenient to move her Husband to keep the said Horses any longer, for fear he should suspect any thing touching the matter; this Informant being then a Roman Catholick, and her said Husband a Protestant.

And this Informant further saith, That William Gerrard, Esq; Son and Heir apparent of Sir William Gerrard of Garswood in the County of Lancaster aforesaid, Baronet (another Roman Catholick), by one William Calland, formerly his Servant, did also buy two Horses of this Informant's Husband, and upon her demanding of the said Calland what buying two or three Horses would signifie? he answered, that they were only intended for the Officers, but as for the men (meaning common Troopers as she conceived) they were all in a readiness, and would as soon as King James was landed take Horses where they found them for his Service, or words to that effect. And this Informant sometime afterwards going to Garswood aforesaid, he the said Mr. Gerrard charged this Informant to be careful in divulging the matter; saying to her, You know, Cousin, since the King has been so kind to send to us, (who this Informant conceived to be King James,) we cannot but put ourselves in a readiness to receive him; which was as this Informant believes about the same time or a little before that of Sir Rowland's Business above mentioned.

And this Informant also saith, That much about the same time before mentioned, Roger Dickinson of Writhington in the said County of Lancaster, Gentleman (also a Roman Catholick), this Informant's Kinsman, came frequently to see this Informant at her Husband's House at Hulme near Warrington in the said County of Lancaster; and amongst other Discourse he the said Mr. Dickinson told this Informant, that he himself had a Lieutenant's Commission from the late King James; and then named

what Commissions most of the Roman Catholick Gentlemen had in the said County of Lancaster, the Particulars whereof this Informant hath forgotten. And this Informant also saith, That the said Mr. Dickinson desired this Informant to prevail with her Husband to buy or procure for him thirty or forty Case of Pistols, to which she answered, she durst not for fear her said Husband should suspect any thing by it; however, she prevailed with him to buy two Case of Pistols for the said Mr. Dickinson, which he accepted and paid for; this Informant's Husband then suspecting nothing at all. And this Informant farther saith, That both at the time the late King James was in Ireland, and also several times since, she hath heard in most Companies which she then kept (being Papists) of the landing of King James, and buying Arms, and such like Discourse, the Particulars whereof this Informant doth not remember well.

And this Informant farther saith, That when the Roman Catholick Gentlemen came down to be Try'd at Manchester, this Informant going to see Mr. William Dickinson, Eldest Brother to the above named Roger Dickinson, she said to him, Cousin, I fear Taffe is come over to be on your side; who answered, Yes, Cousin, I believe he is, but he cost us dear, or words to that effect. Upon which this Informant replied, She knew Taffe to be so mercenary a Villain, that he would do nothing without Money, or such like words.

Agnes Barker.

Capt' & Jurat' die
10. Febr. 1695,
Coram me,
Ralph Egerton.

Robert Bradley's Affidavit.

Robert Bradley of Chippin in the County of Lancaster maketh Oath, that he knows John Lunt, and became acquainted with him about the latter end(1) of the year 1689, by the means of one Mr. Thrillfall, who brought him to his

(1) According to the case, Mr. Lunt was apprehended at Coventry in August 1689, and committed to Newgate in November of that year, where he remained twenty weeks in confinement. This is irreconcilable with the statement of this witness.

House, he this Deponent keeping an Inn in Chippin aforesaid; and that at that time the said Lunt went by the Name of Jackson, and that about a quarter of a year afterwards, there came into that Country several Irish Men, who said they were sent by Lunt from London, and that when they wanted Money they said they were to have Money of Lunt, and amongst the said Irish there used to come to this Deponent's House several English Papists, and frequently used to drink their Old Master King James's Health; and threatened this Deponent (being a Protestant) to hang him when King James came in, often affirming he would come into England at such and such times; and Lunt often told this Deponent, that he had Listed not only the Irish, but several of this Deponent's Neighbours, besides Thirty(*) that he had Listed at Wiersdale, and amongst the Neighbours named Clerkson, Hodgkinson and Hearst, and that one Cottam was to be Quarter-Master. And this Deponent saith, that Lunt desired one Sharpless, where the said Lunt Tabled, to be Listed, as the said Sharpless inform'd him; but said he refused to be Listed by the said Lunt, fearing he had not wherewith to maintain his Soldiers. And this Deponent saith, one John Wilson kept the List and burnt(†) it by his own Acknowledgment at the request of Lunt. And this Deponent farther saith, that several of the Irish Men were furnish'd with all new Clothes at Chippin, and that Lunt was among them and liv'd with them: And that the said Irish Men were lodg'd at Mr. Harris's, at Mr. Perkinson's and several other Popish Houses: And this Deponent saith, that Lunt always went in good Habit, that he had Money and paid as well as any Man, and many times for the Irish, and gave them Money.

Robt. Bradley.

Jurat' 11. die
Febr. 1695,
Coram me,
Tho. Rokeby.

(*) The witness, J. Wilson, says six, not thirty.

(†) This circumstance is not mentioned either by Mr. Lunt or the witness, J. Wilson.

Thomas Clayton's Affidavit.

Thomas Clayton(1) maketh Oath, that in or about October 1694, when the Proceedings and Trials of the Lancashire and Cheshire Gentlemen was under Examination before the House of Commons, he this Deponent being then a Servant at the Swan-Inn at Holbern-Bridge, was then and there in Company with one William Ashton, a Lancashire Man and one of this Deponent's former Acquaintance, and as they were sitting together in the Tap house of the said Inn, this Deponent asked the said Ashton in what Country he had been (this Deponent being before that time informed that the said Ashton had been in the Country), who told this Deponent, that he had been in Lancashire; and this Deponent asking him what business he had in that Country? he answered, he had been there as an Evidence for the Gentlemen that were Tried at Manchester. And this Deponent asking him the said Ashton what he knew of that Affair? he smiled, and said that he knew little or nothing of it; but that the Gentlemen had given him at the Blew Boar in Holborn the Sum of Ten Pounds, before he went down into the Country, as an Evidence for them, and that since his Return from thence, Madam Legh (Mr. Legh of Lime's Mother) had given him Five Pounds more; and then told this Deponent, that if he would but say any thing in the House of Commons (for the matter was to be Examined there) that would vilifie John Womball, or blacken the Reputation of the King's Evidences, that Mr. Legh of Lime, and the rest of the Gentlemen concerned in that Affair, would be very kind to this Deponent. And a little after this Discourse, the said Ashton parted and left this Deponent, and about two days after the said Ashton called again on this Deponent at the said Swan-Inn, and told him, that Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Peter Shackerley desired him, this Deponent, to go to Sir Gilbert Clark's House in Red Lyon Square; but this Deponent answered the said Ashton, that if they had any Business with him, they might come where he was, for he had no Concern with them; so the said Ashton went away immediately, and about two hours after the said Ashton came into the Yard to this

(1) This witness confesses that he consented, for a reward, to give false evidence before the House of Commons!

Deponent, and told him that Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Shackerley were now come themselves, and desired him this Deponent to go to them into the Tap house of the said Inn, and this Deponent went accordingly; and after his sitting down as they desired, the said Sir Gilbert Clark going then by that Name, and Mr. Shackerley, whom this Deponent did know, asked this Deponent, if he knew Womball? and he answered that he knew him very well, for that he had been his Fellow-servant for several years; and then they asked this Deponent, if Womball had not pressed him or solicited him to swear, that he this Deponent had (being formerly a Lancashire Carrier) carried Arms for those Gentlemen that had been accused by the said Womball and others; But this Deponent told them, that the said Womball never did solicite him to any such thing; but the said Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Shackerley did then tell this Deponent, that they would take care to prefer him to a good Place or Imploy, provided he would appear and declare in the House of Commons (for the Lancashire Gentlemen were to have a Hearing of that Matter there) that Womball, before the Tryals at Manchester, had offered to this Deponent One hundred Pounds to swear, that when this Deponent was a Carryer, he had carried Arms to Mr. Dickinson's of Wrightington, and Mr. Standish of Standish-Hall in Lancashire; and that he would farther say, that Womball told him, that the Earl of Macclesfield was the first Man that gave him the said Womball any Encouragement to swear against the Lancashire Gentlemen; and that he and his Horses were both maintained and kept at the said Earl of Macclesfield's Charge upon that account; and that he also was promised Preferment, and an Estate by the said Earl for so doing. And that this Deponent should speak as fully upon that Point concerning the said Earl as he could. And the said Mr. Shackerley did then and there write a Paper in the presence of this Deponent of these Particulars, and of what the said Sir Gilbert Clark and himself would have had this Deponent to have declared in the House of Commons as aforesaid. And the said Mr. Shackerley read it over several times to this Deponent, that he might the better remember it. But this Deponent shewing some unwillingness and great fear of speaking such things that he knew in his Conscience to be wholly untrue of so great a Man as the Earl of Macclesfield, Mr. Shackerley reply'd, and told him, that he was not to be upon his Oath before the House of Commons, and therefore assured him he could receive no harm or prejudice by declaring the same there. And then the

said Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Shackerley said, they could not stay, but were in haste, and went away; but left one Shilling with this Deponent, and the said Ashton to drink; and about two or three days after a Gentleman who went by the Name of Beresford (and this Deponent hath been informed was Cashier to Mr. Legh of Lime, and the rest of the Gentlemen concerned in that Affair) came to this Deponent to the said Swan-Inn, and told him, that Sir Gilbert Clark desired to speak with him at his House in Red Lyon Square; and the said Beresford and this Deponent went immediately to the said House, and Sir Gilbert Clark and they two went presently to Madam Legh's, and went into an inner Room of the said House, where there was a Young Gentleman of little stature in a Morning Gown, whose Name (as this Deponent was then informed by the said Clark and Beresford) was Mr. Legh of Lime, and then and there the said Clark, Legh and Beresford, by their Perswasions, make this Deponent promise to appear (upon their notice) at the House of Commons, and there declare those Particulars aforesaid, that Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Shackerley had dictated to this Deponent to speak against the said Earl of Macclesfield and Womball as aforesaid; and the said Mr. Legh did then and there give to this Deponent twenty Shillings, and promised to give him a far greater Sum, but said he could deposite no more Money till the Business was over in the House of Commons; about three or four days after that time the said Beresford and Ashton came to this Deponent at the Swan Inn aforesaid, and told him, that Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Shackerley desired him to go immediately to the House of Commons, and upon his Examination there he should declare all those things concerning the said Earl of Macclesfield and Womball as aforesaid, and this Deponent went accordingly with the said Beresford and Ashton to the Lobby of the House of Commons, and a little after they came there the said Beresford gave to this Deponent 25s. desiring him not to acquaint any Body, that he, or any one else, had given him Money upon that Account; withal promising this Deponent when the Business was over in the House of Commons, he should be taken care of, and preferr'd. And while this Deponent was waiting in the said Lobby of the House of Commons in order to declare those things to the House, when called in, that were dictated to him by the said Sir Gilbert Clark and Mr. Shackerley as aforesaid, the said Mr. Shackerley came out of the House (being a Member thereof) and bid this Deponent not to mention any thing in the House of or against the Earl of Macclesfield, because he said it was

not then convenient; But that he should vilifie and speak as much against Womball as he could, for that the rest of the King's Evidence signified but little, or words to that effect. And this Deponent was accordingly called in at that time of his Attendance there, and did say as much as he could remember according to their direction as aforesaid. And this Deponent further saith, that he knows John Womball very well; for that he was a Fellow-servant with him several years, with one James Knowles of Croston in Lancashire a Carrier; and that he the said Knowles did always very much confide in the said Womball's fidelity and honesty, and that to this Deponent's Knowledge the said Womball was Industrious and Careful in the Concerns of his said Master. And this Deponent doth farther say, that the said Womball did never at any time offer or promise him, this Deponent, any Sum of Money, or Reward whatsoever, to invite him this Deponent to swear to his carrying Arms as aforesaid, or otherwise. And this Deponent farther saith, That about three years and a half ago the said Womball being then a Carryer, and had then a Gang of Horses of his own, he this Deponent being then travelling out of Lancashire to London, met one Richard Ryley, who was at that time Womball's Servant, in the way from London into Lancashire, with the said Gang of Horses, at an Inn near Daventry in Northamptonshire, and this Deponent did then and there see a great Trunk carried by a Grey Gelding of the said Womball's called Stubb, and the Directions upon it were for Mrs. Mary Ridley, or Ridgley, to the best of this Deponent's remembrance, and to be left at Wigan Lane-house in Lancashire, till called for; and about seven or eight days after, as this Deponent was returning from London he met in Coventry one Mr. Tho. Badiley of Newcastle in Staffordshire, a Carryer, who at that time had the said Trunk, and this Deponent did then see the same, and the said Badiley did then tell this Deponent, that the said Trunk had been seized of Womball at Litchfield, by one of the King's Messengers; and that the said Trunk was full of Swords when so seized; and that he the said Badiley saw the Swords taken out of it. And this Deponent further saith, That it was commonly discoursed in Lancashire before and after the time of seizing the said Trunk at Litchfield as aforesaid, that the said Womball did frequently carry Arms for the Roman Catholick Gentlemen in the said County. And this Deponent farther saith, That at the time he was in the Lobby of the House of Commons, as aforesaid, the said Mr. Shackerley and Beresford came to him and urged him to say in the House of Commons, That he

knew Mr. Lunt's Father (though this Deponent never did) and that his Father should tell him this Deponent, that his Son the said John Lunt had four Wives, and that he was a very wicked Fellow, and did not care what he either said or swore, or words to that effect; But desired him to say nothing of the matter to any, out of the House of Commons, till the Business was over, for if he did, it would certainly be carried against the Gentlemen, and then this Deponent would lose what they intended to give him,

Tho. Clayton.

Jurat' 11 die Febr.
1695, Coram
Tho. Rokeby.

Ann Elliot's Affidavit.

Ann Elliot late of Chippin in the County of Lancaster now living in London maketh Oath, that about the beginning of the Year 1691, she this Deponent then living in Chippin aforesaid, knew John Lunt, who then went by the Name of Jackson, and this Deponent saith, that about that Time there came into that Country several Irish Men, who said they were come from London, and sent down by Lunt, and that they were listed at London by the said Lunt for the Service of King James: And this Deponent saith, that the said Irish Men call'd Lunt their Lieutenant, and at all times when they were together, that they could be free, own'd him and obey'd his Commands as their Lieutenant, and in this Deponent's hearing promis'd to be ready to rise in Arms with the said Lunt to bring in their old Master, which they said was King James: And this Deponent further saith, that several Roman Catholic Gentlemen and others, contributed towards their Subsistence, and amongst the rest this Deponent herself. And this Deponent saith, that Lunt receiv'd the Money for the use of the said Irish: And this Deponent saith, she hath heard one Mr. Lock, who went under the Name of an Irish Man, complain that Lunt had brought him down from London to his Prejudice, because he did not find what was promis'd was perform'd, nevertheless he would be ready with the rest for the said Service. And this Deponent saith, she set up many Nights to wait on the said Irish Men, sometimes by 12 in a Company or

more. And this Deponent saith, she hath often questioned, whence they would have all those Arms they pretended to have, who answer'd we know very well whence to have them.

Ann Elliot.

Jurat' 11. die
Febr. 1695,
Coram me,
Tho. Rokeby.

Elizabeth Langley's Affidavit.

Elizabeth Langley maketh Oath, That she this Deponent knows Mr. John Lunt, and hath done for eight or nine years past, and that in or about the Month of December 1688, a little after the late King James went into France, the said Lunt came to this Deponent, and desired her take a private Lodging for him, until such time as he could get a Passage out of England to follow the said King; which this Deponent did accordingly, and about a Fortnight after, he the said Lunt acquainted this Deponent, that he then had an opportunity to go over into France with the Lord George Howard; and this Deponent doth believe he went accordingly; for in a week or ten days after, she this Deponent did receive a Letter from him the said Lunt, bearing date from Calais, Jan. 14, 1688, which Letter this Deponent hath yet in her keeping; and about July following 1689, the said Lunt came in a Coach to this Deponent's Lodging in Castle-street by Leicester-fields, so disguised, that she did not know him till he spoke, and desired this Deponent to come into the Coach to him, which she did, and then he drew up the Glasses, fearing lest any one might see him, and discover who he was; and as the said Lunt and this Deponent sat together in the said Coach, as it stood at the door of this Deponent's Lodging, this Deponent laid her hand on a Green-Bag, which was in the Coach, and doth believe that it had Papers or Parchment-writings in it, but did not at that time ask the said Lunt, what they were; but as they were sitting together in the said Coach, he the said Lunt told this Deponent, that he had been in France, and that he went from thence into Ireland, and that he was sent thence by King James with Commissions and Declarations to several Roman Catholic Gentlemen

and others in England; and did then further tell this Deponent, that at his Landing in Lancashire from Ireland, he had lost his Linnen, and several other things, which if they were taken would cost him his life; and then desired this Deponent to bring him some Linnen the next Morning, to the Cock and Dolphin-Inn in Grays-Inn Lane, and that she would enquire for him by the Name of Bennet; and the next Morning she this Deponent did go to him accordingly to the said Inn; and as the said Lunt and this Deponent were there discoursing together, she asked, what those things were that she laid her hand upon in the said Bag the day before, when they sat together in the said Coach? and the said Lunt answered, that they were Commissions and Declarations which he had now disposed of to several Gentlemen, in and about the Town, according to his Directions from the said late King James, and the Lord Melfort; and he then shewed this Deponent one Printed Declaration, which (as he said) was all that he had left; for that he had disposed of all the rest, and he read it to her, but this Deponent doth not remember the Contents, but did observe it to be in the name of James Rex, and about a Month or five Weeks after, she heard, that the said Lunt was a Prisoner in Newgate for High Treason, and a little before Christmas in the year 1689, he the said Lunt came to this Deponent and told her, that he was Bailed out of Prison, and was then going into Lancashire. And this Deponent doth believe, that he did then go into that Country, for within a Week or ten Days after, this Deponent did receive a Letter from the said Lunt, bearing date from one Mr. Tildesley's of the Lodge in Lancashire; and in February next after, the said Lunt returned to London, and sent for this Deponent to an Ale-house in Great Queen-street, known by the Name of the Hole in the Wall, who did presently go there and found the said Lunt in a Room with 10 or 12 Men (Strangers to this Deponent) and a little while after the said Men departed, and this Deponent did ask the said Lunt, who they were? who answered, they were Irish Men, and was to be Listed for King James's Service; and then he desired this Deponent to bring him to the said Hole in the Wall in two or three days some Linnen, which she did accordingly, and when she was shewing him the Linnen, the Master of the House came and told the said Lunt, that there were three Men in the House, that waited to speak with him; and the said Lunt told him, that they might come to him if they pleased, and then they did immediately come into the

said Room to the said Lunt, and he asked them what they came about? and they told him about the Concern that he knew of, and that they were sent to him by one Mr. Whitfield a Card-maker; and then asked them if they were willing to serve King James their Lawful King, as Soldiers? and they answered, they came to him for that Intent; and then the said Lunt gave every one of them a Shilling, and set down their Names in a Paper, where there were the Names of many more; two of their Names the said Deponent doth remember to be Thomas Burk, and Patrick Lacy; and he told them, that Care should be taken of them, and that they should have Money to carry them into Lancashire, and when they came there all possible Care would be taken of them, and that they should choose what Officers they pleased to serve under, naming Col. Tildesley, the Lord Mollyneux, and several others whose Names this Deponent doth not remember, that as he said were to be their Officers; and he then Ordered them to be there at ten a Clock the next Morning, for that there was to be several of their Countrymen to meet him there at that time that were to go with them on the same Account into Lancashire. And in a day or two this Deponent went to the said Lunt to the Hole in the Wall aforesaid, and found in his Company the said Whitfield the Card-maker, and several others, who this Deponent did not know; and when she went into the Room where they were, Whitfield whispered with the said Lunt, and Lunt spoke aloud, and said there was no danger of her. And two or three Days after this Deponent came to the said Lunt at the House aforesaid in the Evening, and there found the said Lunt, and another Man putting into Boxes, Sword-Hilts, Belts and Bagonets, with Flasks and Carteridges for Powder; and when they had put those things they intended into Boxes, they directed three of the Boxes to Mr. Tildesley of the Lodge, and to be left at Preston in Lancashire, and the others to several persons, that this Deponent doth not remember the Names of. And the said Lunt and the other Man with him, put three Boxes into a Coach that was waiting at the Door, and they put into another Coach a Hair Trunk, and three other Boxes. And by the said Lunt's Directions, this Deponent went into one of the said Coaches to the Swan with two Necks in Lad-Lane, and delivered the three Boxes, that she had in the Coach to one Knowles a Carrier, as sent from her self. And the said Lunt, and the other Man aforesaid came in the other Coach at the same time, and delivered the said Trunk and

three Boxes to the said Carrier, and in a Week after the said Lunt came to this Deponent, and told her he was going into Lancashire, and she doth believe he did go accordingly; for in a Month or five Weeks after she did receive a Letter from him, bearing date from Lancaster Castle. And this Deponent farther saith, that in the beginning of the year 1691, the said Lunt did, in the Presence of this Deponent, list about twelve or fourteen Men for the Service of the late King James, at the said Hole in the Wall, by the Assistance of one Mr. Rogers a Taylor, who at that time brought them to the said Lunt to be Listed, as aforesaid. And this Deponent further saith, that in or about the Month of November, in the year 1691, the said Lunt came to this Deponent's Lodging, and told her, That he was then going in all haste possible into France to his Old Master King James, and that he must return in a Month's time; And about a Month or five Weeks after, he the said Lunt returned to this Deponent's Lodging, and told her, he had been with the said King James, and seemed to be in great haste, for he said, he was to be in Lancashire in two or three days; and withal told her, that he did not doubt but that in the Spring following, she, this Deponent, might see him the said Lunt at the Head of a Troop of Horse of his own; and this Deponent doth believe, that he did then go into Lancashire; for she did receive a Lettter from him the said Lunt, bearing date from Townley in Lancashire in a Week or ten days after.

Elizabeth Langley.

Jurat' 19. die
Febr. $169\frac{5}{6}$,
Coram,
Sam. Eyre.

Mr. William Wybrant's Information.

About the Time when the Lancashire Gentlemen were brought Prisoners to Town, I met Mr. Taffe; I told him I met Captain Cottingham, who hop'd that you were not concern'd in the Plot, especially against Mr. Legh of Lime, for he heard he was a very honest Gentleman, after which Mr. Taffe pressed me two or three Times to speak to Capt. Cottingham, if he could bring him acquainted with any Friend of Mr. Legh of Lime; some

time after I met him in the Temple, where he told me he was mightily disgusted, for that Mr. Baker and Mr. Smith who was then walking in the Temple, did use him barbarously, for they would not give him any Money, not so much as would pay his Horse-hire into the Country, but he would be even with them and spoil the Plot, and several Words to that effect; I ask'd him to be Ingenuous with me, and tell me whether he was concern'd in the Plot, for I heard it would come to nothing. He told me he was no Evidence nor knew any thing of the Plot: But he knew there were very good Evidence, and enough to hang them all; and immediately afterward he ask'd me whether I could help him to a Friend of Mr. Legh of Lime; for he was in the Tower, and there was no getting to speak to him, but if he could get to speak to a particular Friend of his, he could make his Fortune, and get a good Sum of Money by it, for he could put them in a way to save their Lives: I ask'd him how could that be, when just before he told me the Evidence was Good, and enough to hang them all; he answer'd that was no Matter, for he could contrive a way: But when he found I was not inclinable, he said, now I think on it, he would not be concern'd in it, for it would look ill for him to be concern'd against the Government, who had appear'd so much for it.

William Wybrant.[1]

Sworn before the Houses
of Lords and Commons
when the Plot was ex-
amin'd there.

I can also aver, that when I was concern'd as one of the Commissioners, for the forfeited Estates in several Counties of Ireland, he on Oath gave in his Name to be John Taffe; but since going into Ireland, and making Enquiry after him; there are several Hundreds that will make Affidavit, that his Name is Thomas O Mullen.

William Wybrand.

[1] This witness is one of the parties mentioned at page 9 *ante*, as interested in the discovery of concealed lands. His evidence was introduced for the purpose of destroying Taffe's credit.

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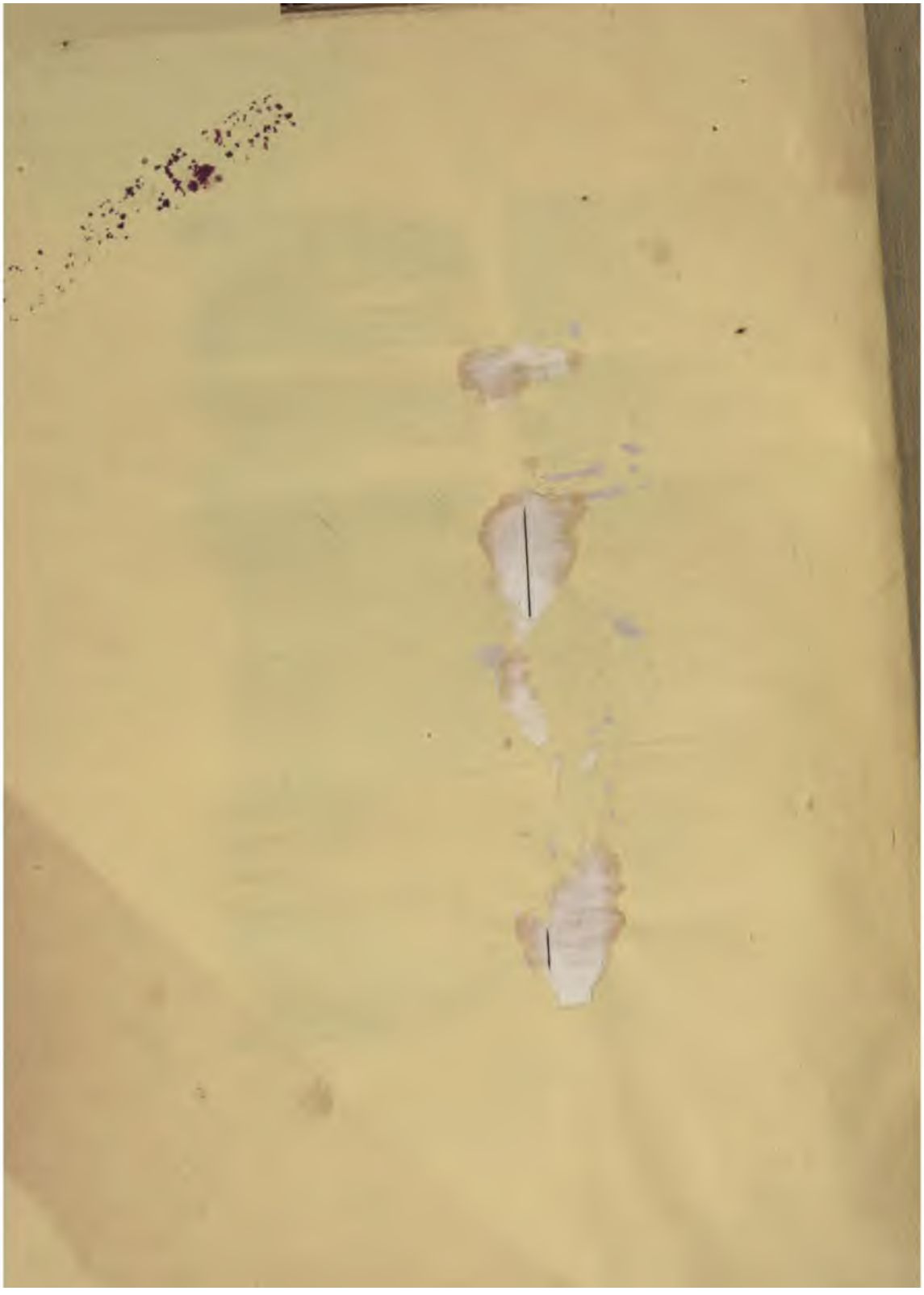
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